

BULLETIN
OF THE
MADRAS GOVERNMENT MUSEUM

EDITED BY THE
DIRECTOR OF MUSEUMS, MADRAS

THE TALI IN RELATION TO SOUTH
INDIAN INITIATION RITES

BY

C.J. JAYADEV, M.A., L.T.
Curator (Retd.), Anthropology Section, Government Museum, Madras

NEW SERIES — General Section — Vol. XIII No. 2

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FOREWORD

This publication entitled 'The Tali in relation to South Indian Initiation Rites' by C. J. Jayadev, Former Curator of the Anthropology Section, Government Museum, Chennai was brought out as the Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum in the year 1979. This book throws light on the use of the 'Tali' based on culture and customs of the ancient Tamil people, as evidenced in the Tamil Literature, Ethnography, Sculptures and Paintings. Literacy Tamil quotations provide ample evidences for the Usage of the *Tali* by the ancient Tamils. The '*tali-kettu kalyanam*' as a pre-puberty ceremony for girls was considered as an essential rite by Kerala castes according to Dr. A. Aiyappan, former Vice-Chancellor, Kerala University and former Director of Museums. The Author Thiru. C.J. Jayadev has enriched the knowledge of about *Tali* based on the collections of this Museum and his field study of tribes of Tamil Nadu. According to him a pre-puberty initiation ceremony was visualised as actual marriage. The book elaborately speaks about *Tali* and marriage rituals in Tamil literature, the marriage of Tirugnana Sambandar, the *tali* rite customs of Kolli Hill Malayalis, Irulas of Attapady, Kappilaiyur, Kallar, Maravar, Agamudaiyar, Karaikal Vellalas, Nattukottai Chettis, Marakkayar, Syrian Christians, Telugu Brahmin, Nambudri Brahmins, Devadasis, Matangi and Basavis. '*Talikattu*' and '*sambandam*' of Kerala are also dealt with.

Government Museum, Chennai has a good collection of '*Talis*' received as treasure-trove. Texts are substantiated by photographs of tribal woman. *Talis* used by Hindus, Keralites and various other types of *Talis* belonging to various districts obtained through treasure-trove.

This book is a very useful reference book highlighting the culture and customs involved in *Tali* rites, copies of the various edition. Since this book has been exhausted, the need was felt to bring it out as a reprint under the Museum Publication programme. Indeed I am very happy to bring out this Bulletin on "Tali in relation to South Indian Initiation Rites" as a reprint of this year.

Chennai - 600 008
Date: 14.02.2007.

(Dr. R. Kannan, Ph.D., I.A.S.)

PREFACE

The Madras Government Museum has a rich collection of talis among jewellery received as treasure trove. These throw new light on the varieties and types of talis used as well as on the culture and customs of the ancient Tamils. Thiru. C.J. Jayadev, who was the Curator for Anthropology and retired as the Assistant Director of this Museum, has made a deep study of the talis available in the collection of this Museum and tali supplemented his knowledge further through tours to tribal pockets in Tamil Nadu. This bulletin is the result of his erudite and meticulous studies and is a valuable addition to the Bulletin series of this Museum. Dr. A. Aiyappan, former Director of this Museum and former Vice-Chancellor of the Kerala University has kindly contributed a scholarly introduction to the work. We record our grateful thanks to him for this.

N. HARINARAYANA
Director of Museums.

Government Museum,
14th Decemeber 1979.

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INTRODUCTION

Interest in a pre-puberty ceremony for girls, designated as *Tali-kettu Kalyanam* which used to be conducted on an elaborate scale as an essential rite by most of the Kerala castes, both patrilineal and matrilineal, was generated by the appointment of a commission called the Malabar Marriage Commission, by the Government of Madras towards the end of the last century. Several Madras jurists participated in the discussions about the legal status of the *sambandham* type of marriage of the Nayar of Kerala and references were made then to the significance of the *tali-kettu* ceremony. Some of the discussants were of the view that this pre-puberty ceremony was the real marriage — a sort of group marriage — and the *sambandham* marriage which followed was just a liaison. Others like Justice Muthuswami Iyer thought that *tali-kettu* was one of the several rites of passage (*samskaras*) which girls had to undergo and had little to do with marriage proper. This was a future controversy as the arguments were not supported by adequate empirical field data and also valid historical evidence.

In a note on Nayar Polyandry (Man, London, XXXII, 1932) I referred incidentally to the *Tali-kettu Kalyanam* ceremony that used to be conducted by most of the caste of Kerala right from the ruling princely families down to poor peasants. I could not accept the popular explanation that it was a pseudo marriage imposed by the Kerala Brahmins on the matrilineal Nayars and Kshatriyas to make it possible for them (the Brahmins) to have *sambandham* type of martial relations with Nayar women. More recently some Kerala historians, led by the late Prof. Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai, have put forth the hypothesis that marriage ceremonies with the bride-groom tying a *tali* round the bride's neck was the earlier practice among the Nayars and that there was no *Sambandham* type of marriage among them before the Nambudiri Brahmin intervened and made it in to pseudo-marriage. There are many flaws in the arguments advanced by Prof. Pillai and I felt there was need to look in to the history of marriage rites of the Tamils themselves in order to understand the implications of seemingly strange pre-puberty rites of Kerala women. As anthropologists try to reconstruct the past by distribution studies of cultural factors, I did extensive field work in Kerala and collected data on the *Tali-Kettu kalyanam* as it was practised among the various castes and tribes. Interesting data throwing light on the *tali-kettu* rite was obtained from Wynad. Here a fairly numerous tribes, the matrilineal Kurichiyas used to conduct a pre-puberty initiation rite resembling marriage and involving the tying of a *tali* by the shaman of the Kurichiya guardian goddess taking care of the welfare of children and women. The ceremony used to be conducted for a group of girls. The girls were secluded prior to the ceremony as though they had attained menarche and menstruation was ritually simulated. There was no doubt here that the ceremony was essentially religious in intent and the *tali*-tied by the goddess was not only symbolic of the change in the social status of the girl from a non-member to a member of her sex category, but was also an assurance of supernatural protection to her. The girls would distribute ripe banana fruits among those assembled in ritual anticipation of her role as the supplier of good food to the community. The ceremony also gave publicity to the girls even before they attained puberty. Details of the *tali* rite of the Kurichiyas have been published in a paper by me on "The meaning of the *Tali*-rite" in the *Bulletin of the Rama Varma Research Insitute*, Trichur, 1942. The Kurichiyas have been living for centuries in an isolated jungle terrain, little influenced on the later waves of sanskritization. I have no doubt that their rituals and beliefs are relics of a past condition for them as far the rest of Kerala left behind long ago. The regular marriage ceremony for them as far the rest of Kerala people from the distant past has been the simple presentation of clothes to the bride. The Kurichiya code of sex conduct is rigorous and strict. The slightest deviance from it met with very severe sanctions. The Kurichiya *tali* rite, it seems clear, represents the archetype of what became later a complicated ritual complex with many accretions for the rest of the Kerala people.

The relationship between the language, culture and social structure of Kerala and Tamilnadu was so close in the past especially during the pre-sangam and sangam ages that I thought it would be exceedingly interesting if we get data on the evolution of the code of the marriage rite of the Tamils which as every one knows is the tying of the *tali* or marriage badge by the groom. Tamil literature is the rich mine of sociological data which has yet to be exploited. Before leaving the Madras Museum in 1958 I entrusted the task of collecting literary data about the marriage rites

of ancient Tamilakkam to Thiru. C.J. Jayadev. It was unfortunate that he passed away before the manuscript of his paper could be discussed by us. I am glad that he has been able to gather a good deal of information relevant to our common interest in the history of the tali rite. Thiru. Jayadev has marshalled enough data to prove that in the present marriage rite of the Tamil, a pre-puberty initiation ceremony has been telescoped with actual marriage and that in ancient times, prior to the 11th century according to his showing, the two were separate, in other words, the tali was not a part of the marriage rite.

The survival among the Karkattar, a Saiva Vellalar caste in the Tirunelveli District, of a pre-puberty ceremony called *Vilakkidu Kalayanam* similar in purport to the *Tali-kettu Kalyanam* of the Kurichiyas is of great significance to the thesis I have presented about the core meaning of the tali rite. The Karkattar like the Kurichiyas attach great value to the "Purity" of their girls and are anxious even before they attain puberty to assign in ritual idiom to them their new roles especially worship of ancestral spirits and household gods who are guardians of her unsullied membership of the community of Karkattar women. The *tali* among the Karkattar, is tied ideally by the maternal grand-father of the girl or in his absence by a surrogate of his may be a woman from a close affinal group. There is no question here of the tali tied round the girl's neck by the grand-father or grand-mother being suggestive of any martial tie. The Karkattars like others describe it as a pseudo-marriage and explain it as a device adopted by them to protect the girls from Muslim invaders, who, they thought desisted from molesting women. In the light of our comparative data, we are in a position to assign a logically consistent meaning to this Karkattar ceremony as a passage rite marking sociological stage in the life history of Karkattar girls anticipatory of and preparatory to their biological and cultural roles. These girls ritually assume adult roles long before they are physiologically fit for their performance. The *Vilakkidu* ceremonies are expressive of the anxiety and concern of the parents and relatives about their girl children. Though they are not themselves aware of the implication of the *Vilakkidu Kalyanam* mentioned here, they even now religiously conduct the ceremony without any exception. The Kurichiyas, and most of the castes of Kerala have given up the *Tali-kettu Kalyanam*. The last aristocratic group to celebrate it in Kerala was the royal family of Cochin in the year 1937. It is indeed of interest that the Karkattars retain this custom which has been given up by the rest of Tamil and Malayalam speakers.

A. AIYAPPAN,
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Kerala University.

THE TALI IN RELATION TO SOUTH INDIAN INITIATION RITES

By

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1. THE TALI IN TAMIL LITERATURE.

In the literature of the Sangam Age (300 B.C. — 300 A.D.) there are numerous references to the use of tali as an ornament. The tali was then an ornament worn by women and children. Children of both sexes were found to wear the tali of which several types are mentioned.

Pulippal Tali. — One of them is the *Pulippal tali* (Tiger teeth tali — புலிப்பல்தாலி). The present day Tamil type of tali is said to be derived from this type. This type of tali is a trophy of the chase. The origin of this type of ornament was explained as a demonstration of the powers of the ancient Tamil warriors and hunters. Men who killed tigers and other wild animals, collected their teeth and claws as trophies made perforation there in stung them together and put the strings around the necks of their women and children as ornamental trophics. Gradually others made similar ornaments of gold. There are several references to this type of tali in Sangam literature^{1, 2}. In the first reference cited, a woman laments the separation of her daughter who had eloped with her lover saying that the daughter was wearing a tali strung of tiger's teeth. This traditional pattern of wearing tiger's teeth as ornamental talis continued to appear throughout Tamil literature as is seen in *Sekkilar* and *Paramjothi Munivar*. The former in the *Thiruttondarpuranam* describes Kannappa Nayanar's mother as wearing tiger teeth tali along with chank shell beads³. The later in his *Thiruvilaiyadalpuranam*, describes the goddess Angayarkanni of Madurai appearing as a huntress decked with ivory ear ornaments and tiger teeth-tali around her neck⁴.

Aimpadai tali — While the *Pulippal-tali* is considered to be a trophy of the hunt or its derivative, the *Aimpadai tali* (ஐம்படைத்தாலி) is said to be amulet or talisman. It is said to preserve the wearer and protect him from evil in general and evil eye in particular. The tali is represented by the five emblems of Vishnu, the conch, the discus, the mace, the bow and the sword. Vishnu is the God of preservation among the Hindu Trinity and wearing his emblems protects and preserves those who wear them as ornaments. It is generally found worn by young children and in the following instances, cited, by male children.

The Pandiyan King Nedum Cheliyan defeated the Chera and Chola kings together with their allies, even before he had removed his tali⁵. He was still a boy wearing the *Aimpadai tali* for protection against the evil eye, When he defeated his enemies.

Sekkilar, in his *Thiruttondarpuranam* describes Sundaramurthi Nayanar as child wearing an *Aimpadai tali* and playing in the street with a toy car, when king Narasingamunayar decides to adopt him⁶.

Paramjothi Munivar, in this *Thiruvilaiyaldalpuranam* in one of the sixty-four sports of Siva at Madurai narrates the story of a small boy, whose *dayadis* (agnates) have robbed him of all his belongings. Siva appears as the maternal uncle of the boy and pleads his cause before a court of law and gets his property restored to him. When shiva meets the boy he laments that he could not see the *Aimpadai-tali* which the boy was wearing as his relations have robbed him of all his ornaments⁷.

Amai-tali and tali-kolundu are ornaments worn by small boys for protection in the same manner as *Aimpadai*⁸. Thus Perialwar (8th century), one of the twelve Vaishnava saints, called Alwars, describes the boy Krishna wearing an *amai-tali*⁹ (tortoise shaped tali) and a *tali kolundu*¹⁰ (a tali in the form of bunch of flower buds).

Variven-tali is a string of white ribbed cowry shells worn as a ornament. It is referred to in one of the Sangam Age anthologies and *Aingurunuru*.

In all instances cited above the tali as referred to as an ornament worn by women and children. Among children there are numerous instances in which the ornaments are worn by boys. A number

of other types of tali are described in early Tamil literature. Among these are 1. the pin tali (black tali) of Madhavi in commentaries of the *Silappadikaram* (8th century) and 2. sinnani tali (of small beads) of Vasavadatta in *Perunkatai* (8th century) and 3. the *Manicka talis* (jewelled talis) of Jeevakan's wives in *Jivaka Chitamani* (10th century). There is also reference in *Perunkatai* of the hero Udayana's horse being decorated with a gold tali. Apart from the tali worn by a horse the other instances cited here refer to tails worn by women who are in the wedded state. This will also be seen later in the description of some of these weddings, where mention is made of all other wedding rituals except the tali tying rite. The tali in these instances is only referred to as an ornament and does not symbolise the wedded state of the women wearing it.

1. TALI IN RELATION TO INITIATION RITES FOR CHILDREN.

Tali, a Tamil word originally signified merely an ornament. This word later came to be used as a synonym for the Sanskrit word *Mangalyam* and the Telugu word *Satamanamu* — The deviation of the word *Tali* from *Tala Patra* the Sanskritic palm leaf has been referred to else where in this paper. *Tali* has been throughout a Tamil word meaning a pendant. From this is derived the word *Talel* used as the refrain of the lullaby *Talatal* the rocking of the cradle. In Tamil Literature called *Pillai Tamil* gods and heroes are conceived of as children and songs sung in praise of them. In these songs of which there are ten tens, each depicts one of the stages of the early life of the child during which infant becomes a toddler.

"In simple societies every change that could be thought of as a passage from one state to another are ritualized" Lucy Mair — 1965. In Tamil Literature known as *Pillai Tamil* are described ten paruva (stages) at everyone of which certain prescribed rites, ceremonies, celebrations of play activities are carried out. At the beginning of every stage the parents, principally, the mothers used to celebrate the day. There are ten stages for the male child and ten for the female child. Of these first seven are common for children of both sexes. The last three are different for the female child and even among these there are certain variants (*vide table*).

In the first stage *Kappu Paruvam* (protection stage) the parents pray to God to protect the child. The child is adorned with Kappu (wrist ornament or thread) while this prayer for protection is celebrated in the second month after the birth of the child and in classical literature it has later come to be associated with two important phases in the life of the individual. On the 7th or 8th day after the birth of the children the 7th day or 8th day Kappu (*Elankappu*, *Ettankappu*) is celebrated in modern practice. The child is adorned with ornaments which are really talismans or amulets which protect him from all evil influences. The second phase in which kappu is celebrated in traditional and modern practices is the buying of the wrist thread or *Kappunan* for the bride and groom as preliminary ritual of marriage.

2. In the second paruvam *Sengirai Paruvam* the parents celebrate the event of the child's earliest lisping words when it is five months old. At this stage the child walks on all with its face uplifted. The whole posture resembles the swaying of the plant *Keeraithandu* (*Amaranthus gangeticus tricolor*). Hence the name *Sengirai*. The practice is not celebrated now-a-days.
3. The third paruvam *Talam* or *Talappaparuvam* the child is put in a cradle and rocked to the tune of a lullaby. This is celebrated in the 7th month of the child in literature. In the lullaby the God or Goddess is eulogised by a narration of the life and events in their lives. The burden of the song is *Tale Talelo*. *Taludal* means the swinging of the cradle. Hence from olden days it has been used for the swinging and tali is the outcome of swinging as on the pendant. Thus the word *Tali* means an ornament swinging from the neck of the wearer. The *Talapparuvam* is common for children of both sexes. At the same time the wearing of tali is common for children of both sexes. This can be seen from the literary references cited else where in this paper though this practice is no longer in vogue. At present however the celebration of putting the child in a cradle and singing a lullaby is carried out along with the 7th day ceremony of kappu.

4. The first crawling and clapping of the hands of the child celebrated in literature in its 9th month is called *Sappaniparuvam* (Sap: Clap and pani: hand). This is no longer taught to children at any particular age nor is it celebrated as an event in the infant's life.
5. Likewise the next stage *Muthaparuvam* celebrated in literature in the child's 11th month when the parents ask for a kiss from the child is not in vogue at present. No initiation rite or ceremony is observed for such a common practice as the kissing of children by their parents.
6. *Varanaipparuvam* or *Varugaiparuvam* is the celebration of the event of the child's first footsteps when it begins to walk with a faltering gait. The toddler is celebrated in literature in his or her 12th month when the parents ask child to approach them by walking.
7. *Ambulipparuvam* is celebrated in literature in the child's 16th month. In this stage the moon is shown to the child and called upon to come and play with him. Any how this stage like the previous one is not celebrated in modern times as an important event in the infant's early life.

The last three of the ten stages in the infant's life which are eulogised in literature take on feminine characteristics for girls and masculine characteristics for boys. Playing a ball game, taking a bath in river or pond, and playing in the swing are the feminine celebrations. These are carried out in the girl's 17th, 19th and 21st month and are called respectively. *Ammanai*, *Neeradal* and *Ponnusal*. There are variants of these in literature. Thus instead of the above three we have *Kalangu*, *Ammanai* and *Usal* which are respectively a ball game, another ball game and the swing. The corresponding stages for male children are characteristically war like masculine play activities. They are 8. *Sitril*, 9. *Siruparai* and 10. *Siru Ter*. The girl in the first instance build small houses of sand and the boy destroys them with his tiny feet. The song *Sitril* has the refrain *Sitril Sidalet*, do not destroy my small home. The utmost that a small boy can do in war is playing the part of a drummer boy. In *Siruparai* he beats a small drum. In the tenth stage *Siru Ter* he plays with a small toy chariot.

Marriage itself is an initiation and marriage rites are initiation rites which confer the status of wifehood on the unmarried female from the earlier status of girlhood or womanhood. However the initiation rites mentioned here are those which are distinct from marriage rites. This distinction is made here to distinguish the *tali* rite in relation to marriage and apart from it.

Cherman Perumal Nayanar (8th Century) contemporary and friend of *Sundaramurti Nayanar* in his *Thiru Kailaya Gnana Ula* describes seven stages in the life of females from childhood to advanced womanhood. These represent stages coming after the ten stages of very early childhood noticed in Tamil literature called Pillai Tamil. Here the seven stages are chronologically marked off. The seven stages are respectively known as *Pedai*, *Pedumbai*, *Mangai*, *Madanthai*, *Arivai*, *Thervai* and *Perilampen* are completed on the female attaining respectively the ages of 7, 11, 18, 19, 26, 32 and 40.

After this she is called a *Viruthai* (an old woman). Corresponding to these seven stages of the female there are five stages for males known as *Saivam*, *Valibam*, *Kaumaram* *Yowanam* respectively up to the ages of 5, 15, 30 and 40. After this male of 41 is said to have attained a stage called *Parthibam*. The seven stages of women, appearing to be marked off by initiation rites and by the distinction of a female in one stage from the previous one or the next one by characteristic insignia of the stage in the matter of ornament, dress and behavioral patterns.

This instance and similar works of this kind depicting the seven stages of women and the earlier ten stages of early childhood have to be construed as literary evidences of the plethora of age grades, initiation rites, and practices for females. These initiation rites are distinct from marriage rites. As these have suffered a slow long drawn out process of attrition and attenuation, they are at present but feebly represented by initiation rites and the attendant behavioral pattern as are seen in fullness in the literary and ethnographic reference detailed elsewhere.

The girl coming under the first stage called *Pedai* is described as being well adorned with a *tali* around her neck smeared with sandal paste on her body, dressed in a cut piece of blue cloth spread over and playing with a doll. The other six females belonging to the succeeding six

stages are described in succession, but there is no mention of any of them wearing a tali. From that it is evident that the small girl under seven is wearing a tali purely as a ornament and that it had no significance as an emblem of wedded state of that period (8th Century).

All these ten stages of early childhood and the initiation rites in relation to them are described in that class of Tamil literature called *Pillai Tamil* such as *Muthukumaraswami Pillai Tamil*, *Meenakshi Amman Pillai Tamil*, *Perunthiru Pirattiyar Pillai Tamil*, *Tiruchendur Pillai Tamil* and *Sekkilar Pillai Tamil*. Devotional songs in relation to many of these stages are found in *Nalayira Divya Prabandam* an anthology of the works of the twelve Vaishnavite Saints called Alvars.

Other initiation rites for children are detailed on literary works in Tamil, Besides the rites and practices of early childhood and those in relation to age grades described in Tamil literature some of them such as those described for *Poompavai* by Sekkilar are derived from the sixteen *Samaskaras* of the Hindus. All these rites are mostly of the nature of rites of passage (*vilde* Table of Tamil and Sanskritic rites and age grades I, II, III).

(i) TAMIL PRACTICES IN EARLY CHILDHOOD.

	<i>Male Children</i>	<i>Female Children (one version)</i>	<i>Female Children (another version)</i>	<i>Age in months</i>
1.	Kappu	Kappu	Kappu	2
2.	Sengirai	Sengirai	Sengirai	5
3.	Talam	Talam	Talam	7
4.	Sappani	Sappani	Sappani	9
5.	Mutham	Mutham	Mutham	11
6.	Varanai	Varanai	Varanai	12
7.	Ambuli	Ambuli	Ambuli	16
8.	Sitril	Ammanai	Kalangu	17
9.	Siru Parai	Niradal	Ammanai	19
10.	Siru Ter	Ponnusal	Usal	21

(ii) TAMIL AGE GRADES.

	<i>Age grade of male</i>	<i>Age in years</i>
1.	Saivam	Till 5
2.	Valibam	Till 15
3.	Kumaram	Till 30
4.	Yavanam	Till 39
5.	Parthibam	Over 41

	<i>Age grade of Females</i>	<i>Age in years</i>
1.	Pedai	Till 7
2.	Pedumbai	Till 11
3.	Mangai	Till 13
4.	Madanthai	Till 19
5.	Arivai	Till 26
6.	Orivai	Till 32
7.	Perilampen	Till 40
8.	Viruthai	Till 40

The following is the description of rites of passage performed from birth onwards till she coaches the marriageable age of 12 of POOMPAVAI daughter of Sivanesa Chettiar of Mylapore in Sekkilar's Thiruthonda Puranam.

"When the female child was born they celebrated the auspicious ceremonies starting from the site of *Jatakarmam* onwards for ten days with great pomp. Then they examined her good qualities and found them to be those POOMAGAL and so performed *namakarana* for her as POOMPAVAI. During the first year of the child, all the twelve months — on the day of the child's birth, twelve other ceremonies were performed. They were tying the trident RAKSHA BANDANAM, placing the child in a cradle UPANISHKARAMANA, first feeding of the child with solid ANNAPRASANA and so on. Then the child attained the stage of the toddler". Here in the first two rites *Raksha-bandanam* and *Nishkaramana* the terms stand respectively for the Tamil *Kappu* and *Talam* while the third Sanskrit term *Annaprasana* is one of the sixteen Hindu Samskaras.

Again the celebration of the play activities of early childhood of the girl is described by Sekkilar in Tamil terms, "From this stage onwards the child grew up in beauty for seven years with all the appropriate practices in relation to her age. She joined other girls and played KALANGU, AMMANAI, PANTHU and so on, spoke in the full lisping words of her age like the sweet voiced parrots, built small houses of sand SITRIL, cooked small food SIRUSOR, swayed in the beautiful swing USAL and this grew up to the tune of the activities till she reached that stage of her life when she became 12 years of age and was fit for marriage". (Sambandar Puranam — Sekkilar T.T.P. 1041-1049).¹¹

Sekkilar in Karaikal Ammaiyar Puranam says:

"To the delight of the many good relatives the wealthy father performed in succession all the practices appropriate to the corresponding stages of her childhood till *Punithavaiyar* attained the beauty and fullness as described in the texts. When she attained the *Mangaiparuvam* they began to look for her a husband according to the custom of the ancient trading clan". (T.T.P. XXIV-2-6).¹²

In *Thiruthonda Nayanar Puranam*, Sekkilar describes the Nayanar's son Seeralan as wearing an *Aimpadai Tali* in addition to other ornaments. The story of this Nayanar whose renown in history as the general *Narasimbha Varma Pallava* who took Badami (Vadapi) defeating the *Chalukya King Pulikesi II* in 642 A.D. and brought to his native place and worshipped Vadapi Ganapathi, relates to his life as devotee of Siva in his later years when he came to be called small devotee or *Siru Thondan*. As required by Siva in the guise of a *Bhairava* the Nayanar and his wife sacrifice their only son and prepare a feast which Siva refuses to partake in a childless home. The boy is called back to life at the inter-cession of Siva who wanted to test the Nayanar's devotion (T.T.P. 736-21).¹³

2. MARRIAGE RITUALS IN TAMIL LITERATURE.

The earliest references to marriage rituals is met with Tolkappiam, a Tamil 'grammar' of the Sangam age by *Tolkappiar*. In this classic it is mentioned that the common form of marriage was at first *kalavu-manam* or the simple cohabitation of the couple as man and wife without any formal rite or ceremony. This was in vogue among the ancient Tamils before the time of Tolkappiar. When falsehood and deceit appeared in this form of marriage, a formal ceremony or rite of marriage was prescribed by the priests. This type of marriage with rituals was called *karpumanam*. The principle rite of marriage prescribed at this stage are described in stanzas 86 and 136 *Agananuru*, an anthology of the Sangam Age. The rites consist of bathing the couple in water mixed with rice and flowers, dressing them up in new clothes and giving publicity to the event by feasting and music.

In stanza 86, the marriage is described by the bridegroom thus.¹⁴ "A feast was held. Sand was spread on the floor and a lamp was lit up. Early in the morning during the confluence of the moon and the asterism Rohini the elderly matrons brought pots of water to bathe the bride. Four elderly women who had borne children mixed rice, grams and flowers with the water in those pots and gave the bride a wedding bath saying, Without swerving from the path of chastity doing many good deeds, may you become the desired wife of your husband. Thus the bride's good marriage was celebrated".

In stanza 136, the marriage is described by the bridegroom thus¹⁵; A feast was with white rice cooked with meat. The moon and the asterism Rohini were in confluence. The Bridegroom was adorned and prayers were offered to God. The wedding music was in excess. The bride was given her wedding bath. She was adorned with a white wrist-thread make up of Vagai leaves and Arugu flowers. The elders dressed the bride in new clothes. The elders having adorned her with several ornaments were fanning away the sweat caused thereby. In both these descriptions of marriages in the Sangam Age, the principal rites seems to be the wedding bath of the bride and bridegroom after a public feast. Rice and flowers were mixed with the bath water. Then they are dressed in new clothes and are made to sit in the wedding booth to make it known to everybody that they are man and wife. Vedic rites have not yet made their appearance in these two descriptions.

Silappadikaram (the epic of the anklet) by Ilangovaligal belongs to the 8th Century A.D. In this epic is described the marriage of *Kovalan* with *Kannagi*. Kannagi and Kovalan were lovers before marriage. Kannagi was twelve and Kovalan sixteen years of age at the time of their marriage. These are the respective ages of the bride and groom prescribed and in practice throughout classical Tamil literature. During the confluence of the moon and the asterism Rohini elderly Brahmans showed the couple the way of the Vedas. Kovalan went round the fire holding the hand of Kannagi. Women stood holding fragrant articles in their hands. Some held flowers. Some blessed them in prose. Others blessed in verse. Some held in their hands various kinds of fragrant pastes. Still others held in their hands incense. Some others held garlands in their hands. Still others held lamps, post and paligas (pots with seedlings). The women slender as creepers, prayed to their favourite god saying: "May this Kannagi become inseparable from her lord. May her lover without letting go of her hand with which he now holds her remain with her. May their love flourish without blemish. Some strew flowers on them". From the above description of the marriage of Kovalan and Kannagi it is seen that Panigrahanam or holding of the hand and going round the Homa or the sacred fire constitute the two principle Vedic rites. There is no mention of a tali tying rite anywhere in the marriage. Again in the same epic when Kannagi becomes a widow by the execution of husband she removes her ornaments and breaks and throws away her bangles. The removal of the ornaments and the breaking and throwing away of bangles were the principle rites performed at widowhood at the period.

In *Adivira Rama Pandiya's Naidatam* the rituals of the marriage of Nala with Damayanthi are described in two stanzas (N.N.T.—7, 8)¹⁶. Among these rituals are showing the way of these four vedas, the groom holding the little finger or his bride's hand, going around the fire, their throwing *pori* in the fire, the groom placing the lotus foot of the bride on the stone, looking at the sky and showing her *Arundati*. The rituals are Vedic rituals and the stress on the way of the Vedas shows a very close resemblance to the marriage of *Kovalan* with *Kannagi* in the '*Silapadigaram*' of *Ilango Adigal*. The main feature is however the absence of the mention of the *tali* rite as part of the marriage ceremonies.

In the Tamil work *Perunkatai* by *Kongu Velir* of the 7th or 8th Century, the hero Udayana marries four wives. They are *Vasavadattai*, *Padumavathi*, *Mananegai* and *Virisigai*. The marriage rites are Vedic in character in all those four marriages. Among the rites are 1. Homa, 2. the bride stepping on the stone, 3. throwing *pori* (parched rice) in to the fire, 4. *Panigrahanam*, 5. showing *Arundati* to the bride, and 6. blessings by the elders. Among these panigrahanam and homa are the principal rites. While there is no mention of the tali in connection with the marriage rites, it is referred in a number of other context, which indicate clearly that it was only an ornament worn by women and even by horses¹⁷. Thus Vasuvadattai was wearing a Sinmanitali as an ornament and the hero Udayana's horse decorated with a gold tali as an ornament.

Probably the most clear, specific and detailed account of marriage rituals described in classical Tamil literature is that of *Andal* or Chudikodutta Nachiyar (one of the twelve Vaishnava saints) of the 9th Century. Andal, in the song *Varanamayiram*, gives a vivid description of her dream in which she is married to the Lord Vishnu. The song teems with rituals and most of these rituals, if not all of them, are being followed at the present day in orthodox Hindu marriages. The following are among the principal rites mentioned in the song:

The celestials, including Indira, come to negotiate and settle her marriage with the Lord. She wears new bridal clothes. The bridegroom's sister Anthari garlands her. She has wrist-thread tied to her. The bridegroom comes in to the marriage booth. The music of conch and drum is in excess. As the Brahmans chant mantras, the Lord comes over and takes hold of her hand and goes round the fire. He takes hold of her foot in his hand and places it on the stone. She is made to stand before the fire, place her hand on the Lord's hand and take *pori* (parched rice) and throw it in to the fire. The bride is smeared with Kunkumam (Vermilion) and *chandu* (sandal paste). The bride and bridegroom are taken round them left to right in the marriage procession. They are bathed in turmeric water.

There is no mention of any tali tying rite in this beautiful and vivid description of the ritual of this period. (NDP 556-566).¹⁸

Andal, in another of her popular devotional songs, says that the *achu talis* and *Amdi tali* are jingling as the milk maids with fragrant dresses move their hands to and fro and make sounds with the churning stick churning the milk. Here the reference is to the wearing of talis by the milk-maids purely as ornaments. (Tiruppavai 7) NDP 480.¹⁹

Tirutakka Thevar, a Jain author of the 11th Century, wrote *Jeevaka Chintamani*, one of marriage ceremonies. The tali rite is not yet come in to vogue as part of marriage the classics of Tamil Literature. In this story nine marriages are described. The Hero Jeevakan marriages eight wives. They are *Gandhriva Thathai*, *Gunamalai*, *Padumai*, *Kemasan*, *Kanagamalai*, *Vimalai*, *Suramanjeri* and *Lakkanai*. His friend *Padumaigara* marries *Govindai*. In all these marriages the principal rituals mentioned are homa, dhara and panigrahanam. There is no mention of tali tying rite in any of them. But later on in the story the wives of Jeevakan are described as wearing Manicka Talis as ornaments around their necks.

In the *Thirutondar Thiruvanthati* of Nambi Andar Nambi of the 11th Century, the author says that *Kungilia Kalaya Nayanar* disposed of his wife's tali and purchased incense. Here Nambi Andar Nambi refers to the tali as Kathali Tali (tali of the mistress) and not as Mangalanool Tali as Sekkilar states very clearly in the *Thirutondar Puranam* of the 12th Century. This statement by Nambi Andar Nambi does not indicate, clearly whether the tali referred to by him as one worn by the Nayanar's wife as an emblem of her wedded state or merely as an ornament. It is at this period in the history of South India that the distinction between the tali as an ornament and as an emblem of the wedded state appears for the first time. Thus in Tamil literature of the 11th and 12th Centuries the tali is mentioned both as an ornament and as a badge denoting the wedded state. Of such literature the principal one are 1. *Kanda Puranam* by *Kanchiappa Sivachariar* of the later part of the latter Century, 2. *Kaligathu Parani* by *Jayankondar* of the 11th Century. 3. *Takka Yaga Parani* by *Ottakuttar* of the 12th Century, 4. *Thirutondar Puranam* or *Peria Puranam* by *Sekkilar* of the earlier part of the 12th Century and 5. *Kamba Ramayanam* by *Kambar* of the latter part of 12th Century.

In *Kanda Puranam* three marriages are described — The marriages of 1. *Uma*, 2. *Valli* and 3. *Devayani*. The author describes the marriage of Uma and Siva as being celebrated according to the Vedic ritual or panigrahanam (holding the hand). There is no mention of tali tying as a rite in the marriage of Siva and Uma. The marriage of Valli with Kanda is described. Narada officiates as Purohit and the principal rites are panigrahanam and going round the 'Homa' or sacred fire. Again there is no mention of tali tying as a rite of marriage. But in the marriage of Devayanai with Kanda there is mention of tali-tying. Indira, the bride's father performs pada puja to Kanda, then places his daughter's hand in that of (Panigrahanam) and says that he gives her away. He then performs Dhara (pouring water). Then Brahma conceives in his mind and gives by his hand the *Mangalayan* (auspicious thread) to Kanda who puts it round the neck of *Devasena*. The tying of a thread by the bridegroom around the bride's neck as a marriage ritual is seen here for the first time (K.P. 247).²⁰

The tali as an emblem of the wedded state is referred to again in *Kanda Puranam*. Siva, the great god, protected the golden talis. (K.P. 4)²¹ of the wives of the celestials including Brahma by swallowing the poison which came out when the sea of milk was churned. This meant that he saves the lives of their husbands, their golden talis being significant of their wedded state.

While in the marriage of Kanda with Devayani the author speaks of only *mangalanan* (auspicious thread) he refers to *Porrali* (golden talis) in the case of wives of celestials, Brahma included. This would show that the thread was the first the emblem and later both the thread and the golden ornament strung on it constituted the emblem of wedded state.

In *Kalingathu Paranai* there is mention of the *Aimpadai Tali* as an ornament in more than one instance which the principal rite of marriage mentioned is *panigrahanam* or holding the hand.

In *Takka Yaga Parani* it is mentioned that the talis worn by the women folk of Takka were taken away by the hordes of Virabhadra meaning that the retainers of Takkan were killed and thus their woman fold become widowed.²²

The tali as an emblem of the wedded state is mentioned again in the Thirutondar Puranam of Sekkilar of the 12th Century. In this work, which narrates the lives of the sixty-three Saivite saints a number of marriages are described.

The marriage of *Thirugnana Sambanda Nayanar* (7th century) celebrated according to Vedic rites is described in great details by Sekkilar. The marriage as described by *Sekkilar* in his *Tirutondar Puranam* (12th century) is yet another clear specific and detailed account of marriage rituals in classical Tamil Literature²³

3. THE MARRIAGE OF TIRUGNANA SAMBANDAR.

Thirugana Sambandar is sixteen years old at the time of his marriage. His father and other elders decide that it is time that he marries a virgin so as to enable him to perform the various fire sacrifices. They went to *Nallur Perumanam* and decided to ask for the daughter of *Nambiandar Nambi* as the bride for Sambandar. The girl's father approves and party-return home and fix the date of the marriage. Pot lamps are lit up, seeds are sown, invitations sent round. The marriage house is cleaned and decorated. The marriage booth is put up, lamps are lit, pots filled with water, incense is burnt from the first day on holidays. The relations and guests gather. Music and Vedic chants are heard side by side. The atmosphere is full of the smell of incense and the sacrificial fires. Provisions and wealth are gathered and stored for the occasion. Water is kept in golden pots. Incense is mixed up. Kumkum paste is prepared. Camphor and flower garlands are gathered.

The groom is got ready for marriage by adorning him with the Kappu after its being taken round in procession. Rice is spread. Flowers and pots of water are put up. Ficus leaf, darba grass are collected, Music is in excess. The groom enters the temple. The priest asks him to put on wedding dress for which the groom goes to one side of the temple. He is bathed in turmeric water dressed in white silk and adorned with sandal paste and jewels. The wedding garland is put around his neck. Music fills the air. The groom's name and titles are announced. The bride is dressed and adorned at the same time. The conch shell is blown. Sumangalis hold the following auspicious objects like gold pots, jewels, lamps, incense, flower garlands, seedlings, mixed scented pastes, in their hands and bless the couple in auspicious tones. The sumangalis walk in front of the procession as good women. The smiling and happy faces of the women bless the couple. The Rishis and this wives bring water for pada puja. The bride's father Nambiandar Nambi performs *pada puja* while his wife pours the water from the pot. The pada puja water is sprinkled on all as a blessing. The bride's father pours water in to the hands of the groom as *Dhara*, mention his *gotra* and *Kata* and says that he is giving away his daughter as a gift of the virgin (*Kanyadanam*) to the groom. The auspicious hour for *panigrahanam* approaches. The parents are seated with the bride to the right of the groom. They are surrounded by their relation. *Thirunila Nakkar* carries out the rituals as the officiating priest. He puts parched rice²³ pori in to the fire. The groom holds the bride's hand and goes round the fire (*homa*). The groom holding the hand of the bride gets in to the temple procession and all of them are merged in to the effulgence (T.T.P. 1156—1243²³).

The above description of the marriage of Thirugnana Sambandar by Sekkilar does not mention any tali tying rite. *Sambandar's* time is reckoned as 7th century and Sekkilar's *Periya Puranam* belongs to the 12th century. From this it is clear that the failure to mention the tali rite is not an omission but merely an indication of the absence of the tali rite in marriages of these periods. A significant fact of the above description is the repetition of some of the more important rituals a number of times. The description has much in common with the marriage of *Andal* of the 9th

century and of *Kovalan* and *Kannagi* of the 8th Century in that, in all these marriages there is no mention of the tali tying rite.

The marriage of *Sundaramurthi Nayanar* (8th century) with *Paravai Nachiyar* is described by *Sekkilar* in *Thirutondar Puranam* as taking place in the temple of *Thiruvavarur* and the marriage of *Sundaramurthi Nayanar* with *Sangili Nachiyar* in the temple of *Thiruvottiyur*. *Sekkilar* does not mention any tali tying rite in any of these marriages.

At the same time there is mention of the tali as an ornament in the devotional songs of *Sundaramurthi Nayanar* where in he describes the devotees as wearing *Amai talis* and worshipping *Siva* (S.D.T.).²⁴

The following reference to the tali in this work, *Thirutondar Puranam*, signify the wedded state of the women wearing it or the widowhood of the woman without it. In *Kungilia Kalaya Nayanar Puranam* the author makes a reference to *Mangala Nool Tali* (auspicious thread tali). This is a clear indication that the tali mentioned here is a badge of the married state. God *Siva* wanted to test the great devotion of the *Nayanar* who used to burn incense (*Kungiliyam*) at his shrine. So he was made to suffer from dire poverty. The entire family was starving for lack of food. The *Nayanar's* wife gave her husband her faultless marriage thread tali and asked him to get rice. Here, there²⁵ is mention of the tali as an ornament strung on an auspicious thread and this indicate the wedded state. The tali is removed from the thread and given away for the purchase of rice. Only the ornament alone which was stung on the thread is removed and sold. Thus wedded state is indicated not only by the ornament but also by the thread on which it was strung. This would indicate different stages in the significance of the tali and the *tali rite*.

At first the auspicious thread alone was the emblem of marriage. This was noticed in *Kanda Puranam* in the wedding of *Kanda* with *Devayanai* where the author *Kacchiappa Sivachariar* mentions only the *mangala nool* and later the golden tali which he mentions in relation to the wives of the celestials including *Brahma*. This is the state in which we see it here in the life of *Kungilia Kaloya Nayanar*. Here the tali and the thread on which it was strung indicate the wedded state. The tali was removed to purchase rice as a last resort on account of the extreme poverty of the *Nayanar*.

There is yet another reference in the *Thirutondar Puranam* of *Sekkilar* to the tali as an emblem of the wedded state. In *Thirugnana Sambandar Puranam* he refers to this mention of the tali as an ornament stung on an auspicious thread and this indicates *Thirugnana Sambandan* when he cured the fever and the hunch back of the *Pandia King Kun Pandian* who thus came to be called *Ninra Seer Maran* (T.T.P. 705).²⁶

Again *Sekkilar* refers to the widowhood of *Tilakavati* elder sister of *Thirunavukkarasu Nayanar*. She is affianced to *Kalippagai* who dies in battle. So she does not wear the thread with beautiful gold bead (as she has assumed widowhood) and combined to live for the sake of bringing up her younger brother *Tirunavukkarasu Nayanar*. Here the thread with the beautiful gold bead is significant of wedded state, T.T.P. 21—34.²⁷

In the *Kamba Ramayana* of the 12th century there are some references to the tali as the emblem of the wedded state. In the marriage of *Rama* with *Sita* the author mentions *dhara*, *homa*, *panigrahanam*, stepping on the stone and seeing *Arundati*, as the principal rules of marriage while there is no mention of tali tying as a marriage rite. When *Kaikeyi* wants her son to be crowned and *Rama* to be banished, the king curses her saying that her neck-thread would become the wrist thread of her son²⁸ A. The implication here is that her son will wear his wrist thread (*Kappu Nan*) for his coronation only after she loses her neck thread (*Kaluthu Nan*) by becoming a widow. A thread around the neck according to a dream that the *Mangala Talis*^{28b} of the *rakshasa* women broke loose from their necks and fell down upon their breasts without any one pulling them off with his hands. That reference here to *Mangala Talis* indicate that they are emblems of the wedded state of the *rakshasa* women and their loss *Tirisada's* dream was prophetic of the deaths of their husbands.

In the *Thiruvilaiyadal* by *Perum Parra Puliyur Nambi* of the 13th century there are no references to the tali rite as a marriage ceremony. The marriage of *Siva* (*Sundara*) with *Tadatagai*,

who was ruling Madurai was according to Vedic rites. In this and in all other marriages, described by Perum Parra Puliyar Nambi, the principal rites are Dhara and Panigrahanam. The bride's father give away the bride by pouring water and the bridegroom takes hold of her hand. But in the same work there is reference to the tali as the emblem of the wedded state in the chapter where God Shiva appears as the maternal uncle of a boy whose Dayadis (agnates) had taken away by force all the property left to him by his maternal uncle who had adopted him²⁹. The boy's mother in the widowed state is here referred to as a women who has lost her thread. In that story God Siva appeared as the maternal uncle of the boy, pleaded his case before a court of law and had all his property restored to him.

In the *Thiruvilaiyadal Puranam* by *Paramjothi Munivar* of the 16th century the author mentions Siva (*Sundara*) as tying a tali around the neck of *Tadatagai* in his marriage to her in addition to the following Vedic rites *Vishnu* does *padapuja* (washing the feet) to Siva. The hand of Siva is placed on the hand of *Tadatagai* and water is poured over them (*dhara*). The rishi's wives and *Saraswathi* and *Lakshmi* sing *Mangalam*. Brahma performs the sacrifice (*velvi*). As the four Vedas are chanted and a music is being sounded, Siva ties the *Mangala Nan*. (T.V.P.5.185)³⁰ (auspicious thread) around the neck of *Tadatagai* and holds her hand (*panigrahanam*). Again *Paranjothi* describing marriage of *Ugra Pandiyan* with *Kanthimati*, says that the bridegroom ties the *Mangala Nan* (T.V.P. 12 to 54)³¹ to the bride.

However in two other marriages in this work the tali rite is not mentioned. In *Virutha Kumara Balarama Padalam*, a saivite Brahman gives away his daughter in marriage to a *Vaishnavite Brahman* boy by the rite of Dhara or pouring water. In *Vanniyum Kinarum Lingamum Alaitha Padalam* when the two wives of the merchant quarrel, the senior wife asks the junior wife if she had really married her husband with fires as witness (T.V.P. 64-38).³² Thus Dhara and Homa continue to be important rites of marriage.

In *Kandar Alangaram* a poem of a hundred verses by the Tamil Saint *Arunagirinathar* of *Truvannamalai* who lived in the 16th Century there is mention of *Kumara* saving the life of *Indra*. This is referred to indirectly by the author's saying that *Kumara* is the protector of the *mangalya taandu* (auspicious thread) of *Sasi Devi/Indira's* wife (K.A. 21)³³ and again by preventing loss of the *nool* (thread) tied around her neck. K.A. 77.³⁴

References to literature to the tali as an ornament are abundant throughout the last two millennia beginning from the literature of the Sangam age and extending up to the modern period. In all these references up to the 11th or 12th century there is no relation between the ornament as such and the wedded state of woman which it came to represent subsequently. Beginning from the marriages described in the anthology *Agananuru* and the marriage of *Kovalan and Kannagi* in *Silappadigaram* till the dream marriage of *Anjal* the tali rite for marriage is not described simply because it does not exist during the period of over a thousand years. Even in the millennium in the descriptions of all the marriages the principal rites of marriage are Homa, Dhara and Panigrahana and very rarely the rite of the bridegroom tying the tali around the bride's neck. If at all the tali is mentioned during this period it is referred to as the emblem of the wedded state of the woman and not in relation to the principal rite of marriage except in the few cases cited. Thus among the three marriages in *Kandapuram* and the tali rite is described is only one. The tali rite is not described in the marriage of *Sambandar* or of *Sundarar* in the *Thirutondarpuranam*. There is no tali rite in the marriage of *Rama and Sita* in *Kamba Ramayanam*. In all these marriages the tali rite is not in evidence. If the tali is mentioned it is insignifying the wedded state of the woman wearing it. These references to the talis as signifying the wedded state of woman are however met with only from the literature of the 11th century and not earlier.

II. THE TALI RITE IN ETHNOGRAPHY

In several South Indian castes and tribes the tali is referred to as an ornament worn by women and children in the following contexts:—1. It is worn purely as an ornament 2. It is worn by female children who are invested with it an initiation ceremony or rite of passage. This rite may be carried on before puberty, or after puberty. In all these cases it is quite distinct from the marriage

rite which it preceds. 3. The tali is tied as an ornament around the bride's neck by her husband or some other

KOLLI HILLS MALAIYALIS.

The Kolli Hills Malaiyalis are a Tamil speaking agricultural people inhabiting the Kolli hills of Salem district. They are the most conservative of the Malaiyalis in that they exhibit some of the most primitive customs that are to be found among the Nilgiris tribes on one side and the peoples of Kerala on the other. Among such customs the present writer found all female children and all women young and old, married or unmarried, wearing bottu talis. This type of ornament is a cup shaped ornament of gold. There is no rite or ceremony connected with the wearing of these bottu talis by women and female children. The parents of the children adorn them with the ornaments and they continue to wear them right, through their lives. All the female children and the women in the illustration are seen wearing bottu talis (Plate III fig.I).

Apart from the ornamental bottu talis worn by females among these people they have tali tying as the principal rite of marriage.

The tali is made of gold. A square gold bead is strung on a thread and this is tied around the bride's neck at marriage. This is later removed and replaced by the regular tali which is of the Tamil type. The tali is single and worn on a single thread. The thread is worn fairly close round the neck. No additional beads are worn. The friends, relations, the Ur Goundar (village headman) Karakkarar (clan cheif) and the bride and bridegroom assemble in the marriage pandal some time before the muhurtam (auspicious hour). The Karakkarar asks if the tali can be tied. The Ur Goundar says, 'Yes'. Immediately the tali is given to the bridegroom by the Karakkarar. (The tali must have been prepared at the cost of the bridegroom's party). The bridegroom puts it round the bride's neck and puts one single knot. Then the Karakkarar puts two knots. No one else participates in the tying of the tali. Previous to the rite certain rites are carried out in the pandal. After this the Karakkarar puts on sandal paste on their fore-heads themselves. Others follow this. The couple prostrate before the assembly. After this a feast is held.

IRULAS OF ATTAPADY.

The Irulas are Hill cultivators and cattlemen of the Attapady hills of Kerala. At this outset of the first menstruation of an Irula girl she is segregated in a separate hut put up for the occasion for seven days. None of the men folk should see her during this period. On the eighth day she is given a purificatory bath and is dressed in new clothes (Kodi mundu). She is then led by her father's sister's son or daughter who ties a tali (a string of black beads with a kasu or coin) around her neck. The puberty rite of tali tying is called Niranja Kalyanam.

Marriage is celebrated in the bride's house and includes a rite of tali tying. The girl's father has to bear the cost of the tali, jewels and clothes. The tali is tied by the bridegroom at 7 O'clock in the evening after a feast. This marriage is called *Peria Kalyanam* and is negotiated and celebrated by the headmen of both the bride's and bridegroom's villages.

KAPPILAIYAR.

The Kappilaiyar are Canarese speaking farmers of Madurai and Tirunelveli districts. They have the rite of tying a *turmeric dyed thread* around the neck of a girl in coming of age. This is a very simple form of tali tying or puberty rite. This tali tying ceremony is dispensed with if the girl is already married. Instead she is adorned with glass bangles by a married woman. It is also note worthy that in their marriage rites there is no tali tying linking their fingers together constitute the principal marriage rites.

Initiation: Puberty rite: "At the first menstrual period, a girl remains under pollution for 13 days in a corner of the house or outside it in the village common land (Mandai). If she remains within, her maternal uncle makes a screen and if outside, a temporary hut. On the 13th day the girl bathes in a tank, and she enters the house, has to pass over a pestle and cake. A cotton thread, dyed with turmeric, is tied round her neck by a married woman, and if she herself is married, she puts on glass bangles. The hut is burnt down and the pots she used are broken to atoms."

"Marriage: "Marriage is, as a rule, adult and common emblem of married life—the tali or bottu—is dispensed with. On the first day of the marriage ceremonies, the bride and bridegroom are conducted, towards evening, to the houses of their maternal uncles. There the nalangu ceremony, or smearing the body with Phaseolus mungo, sandal and turmeric paste, is performed, and the uncle places toe rings on the feet of the contracting couple. On the following day the bride price is paid, the betel is distributed in the presence of a Kummara, Urumikaran and washerman to the villagers in a special order of precedence. On the third day, the bridegroom goes in procession to the house of the bride, and their fingers are linked together by the maternal uncle or uncles". (E.T. (iii) 217)³⁵

KALLAR.

The Kallar are agriculturists in Southern districts of Madras, Madurai and Tirunelveli who were the formerly cattle lifters. Among the Kallars of Madurai district, girls wear necklaces of coloured glass beads before they attain age, horse hair necklets on coming of age and again horse hair necklets on marriage.

Initiation: Puberty rite: "When a girl has attained maturity she puts away the necklace of coloured glass beads she wore as a child, and does the *horse hair necklet* (Plate 1 fig.2) which is characteristic of the Kallar women. This she retains till her death, even if she becomes a widow. The richer Kallar substitute for the horse hair, a necklace of many strands of fine silver wire. In Thirumangalam, the women often hang round their necks, a most curious brass and silver pendant, six or eight inches long, and elaborately worked.

Marriage: When a wedding takes place the sister of the bridegroom goes to the house of the parents of the bride, and presents them with 21 kali panams (coins) and a cloth and at the same time, ties some horse-round the bride's neck. She then brings her and her relatives to the house of the bridegroom, where a feast is prepared. After this the bride and bridegroom are conducted to the house of the latter, and the ceremony of an exchange between them of Vallari thadis or boomerangs is solemnly performed and another feast is then given in the bride's house and the bride is presented by her parents with one markal of rice and a bran. (F.T. (iii) 7.7.)³⁶

MARAVAR.

The Maravans are cultivators of Madurai and Tirunelveli who were expert hunters and robbers in former times.

"In one form of the marriage rites, the bridegroom's party proceeds on an auspicious day which have been fixed before hand, to the home of the bride, taking with them five coconuts, five bunches of plantains, five pieces of turmeric, betel and the flowers and the tali strung on a thread dyed with turmeric. At the auspicious hour, the bride is seated within the house on a plank, facing east. The bridegroom's sisters removes the string of black beads from her neck, and ties the tali thereon (Plate II fig. 2). While this is being done the conch shell is blown and women indulge in a shrill kind of keeming (*Kulavi idal*). The bride is taken to the house of the bridegroom where they sit side by side on a plank and the ceremony of warding off the evil eye is performed. Further milk is poured by people with crossed hands over the heads of the couple. A feast is held in which meat takes a prominent part." (E.T.V. 35)³⁷

AGAMUDAIYAR.

The Agamudaiyans are a cultivating caste found in all the Tamil districts.

"The marriage ceremony as carried out among the proper Agamudaiyans, is very simple. The sister of the bridegroom proceeds to the house of the bride on an auspicious day, followed by a few females carrying a woman's cloth, a few jewels, flowers, etc. The bride is seated close to a wall facing east. She is dressed up in the cloth which has been brought and seated on a plank. Betel leaves, areca nuts and flowers are presented to her by the bridegroom's sister and she puts them in her lap. A turmeric dyed string or garland is then placed round the bride's neck by the bridegroom's sister while the conch shell (musical instrument) is blown. On the same day the bride is conducted to the house of bridegroom and a feast is held." (E.T.I. 9)³⁸

KARAIKAL VELLALAS.

The Karaikal Vellalas are a territorial division of the great farmer caste of the Tamil country inhabiting the southern districts of Madras. Every girl of this community, under-goes an initiation rite when a tali of gold and coral beads is tied to her by her potential mate or maternal uncle. The present writer finds that this rite in which the maternal uncle or cross cousin of the girl ties a tali called the *kodachimani* at her *Vilakkidu Kalyanam* still in vogue among this community.

Initiation.—Pre-Puberty rite: "Among the Karaikal Vellalas, a peculiar ceremony called *Vilakkidu Kalyanam* or the auspicious ceremony of lighting the light is performed for girls in the seventh or ninth year or later but before marriage. The ceremony consists in worshipping Ganesa, and the Sun at the house of the girl's parents. Her maternal uncle ties round her neck a necklace of gold beads and coral and gives her a new cloth. All the relations, who are invited to be present, make gifts to the girl. The women of this section wear this ornament, which is called *Kodachimani* (hooked jewel), even after they are married" (E.T. (vii) 380)³⁹ *Marriage* includes a rite of tali tying by the husband.

NATTUKOTTAI CHETTIS.

The Nattukottai Chettis are the most prosperous traders and money-lenders of the southern districts of Madras. They have among them an initiation rite of *tali* tying for their girls before marriage. Before marriage a girl wears only glass bead necklaces. At her initiation it is replaced by a necklace of gold beads. Again at her marriage she is invested with the tali, a very large and costly ornament by an elderly man of her community and not by her husband. This costly tali is not worn always by married woman but is worn only on ceremonial occasions.

Initiation—Pre-Puberty rite:—"Every girl has to go through a ceremony called *thiruvadhirai* before marriage. On the day of the *Arudradarisanam* festival, she is bathed and decorated. A necklace of gold beads is placed on her neck instead of the necklace of glass beads (*pasimani*) which she has hitherto worn. She proceeds with a silver cup to the houses where other girls are performing the ceremony".

Various kinds of vegetables are placed in the silver vessel, cooked and distributed. Cakes, called *dosai*, are made in the house and during their preparation holes are made in them by married women with an iron style. These cakes are also distributed and it is taken as an insult if any individual does not receive one.

Marriage:—The Sacred fire is lighted, and homam performed by the Brahman purohit. An old man, who has had a number of children and belongs to a temple other than that of the bride, and the bridegroom's sister then tie the tali string round her neck. This string bears a large tali about seven inches long and four inches broad, and seventeen to twenty-three gold ornaments, often of considerable value. For every day wear, the massive ornaments are replaced by a smaller set. Immediately after the tali is tied, the marriage contract is written (E.T. v. 266).⁴⁰

MARAKKAYAR.

The Marakkayars are a Tamil-speaking Musalman tribe of mixed Hindu and Musalman origin, the people of which are usually traders. They are particularly numerous in Port Novo, South Arcot district.

In one form of the *marriage rites*, the ceremony extends over four days. The most important items on the first day are fixing the *mehr* (bride price) in the presence of the vakils (representatives) and the performance of the *nikka* rite by the Kazi. The *nikka Kudbha* is read, the bride standing within a screen. During the reading of the *Kudbha*, a sister of the bridegroom ties a *string of black beads* round the bride's neck. All the women present, set up a roar called *Kulavi idal*. On the following day the couple sit among women and the bridegroom ties a golden tali on the bride's neck. On the third or fourth day a ceremony called *papparakkolam* or Brahman-disguise is performed. The bride is dressed like a Brahman woman and holds a brass vessel on one hand and, a stick on the other. Approaching the bridegroom she strikes him gently and says, "Did not I give you buttermilk and curds. Pay me for them." The bridegroom then places a few tamarind seeds in the brass vessel, but the bride objects to this and demands money, accompanying the

demand with strokes of the stick. The man places copper, silver, and gold coins in the vessel and the bride retires in triumph to her chamber. (E.T.V. 4).⁴¹

SYRIAN CHRISTIANS.

The Syrian Christians of Kerala have the tali rite for marriage. "Among the Jacobites (Syrian Christians) early marriage was the rule until comparatively, recently boys being married at ten or twelve years of age and girls at six or seven. Now the more usual age for marriage is sixteen in the case of boys and twelve in the case of girls. Weddings take place on Sundays in the Parish Church. On Thursday before the Wedding day, the house is decorated with rice flour and on the Saturday the marriage pandal (booth) is built. The first ceremony takes place on Saturday night when the bride and bridegroom bathe, and the latter is shaved. Next morning both bride and bridegroom attend the ordinary mass, the bridegroom being careful to enter the church before the bride. Before leaving his house, the bridegroom is blessed by his guru to whom he gives a present (dakshina) of clothes and money. He is accompanied by a best man, usually his sister's husband, who brings the tali. After mass, tithe (pathuvaram) of the bride's dowry is paid to the church as the marriage fee, a further fee to the priest (Kaikasturi) and fee called Kaimuttupanam for the bishop. The marriage service is then read and at its conclusion the bridegroom ties the tali round the bride's neck with threads taken from her veil making a special kind of knot while the priest holds tali in front. The priest and the bridegroom then put a veil (mantra-vedi) over the bride's head. The tali should not be removed as long as the girl is married and should be buried with her." (E.T. VI 451)⁴²

TELUGU BRAHMIN.

Ponigrahana Vaibavam is the most important part in the life of a man. During marriage, the couple are like a king and queen. They sit on planks and are honoured by their relatives. The bride and groom take an oath before the fire and have to abide by it.

Negotiations are made by four priests who are friends of the groom: *Kanyavaranam*. The father of the bride gives her away with water.

Before marriage the groom must appease his ancestors by *shraddas*; it releases him from his debts to his ancestors and enables him to obtain their blessings of good offspring.

Dharagrahanam—Taking a wife is for getting good offspring who will carry out dharma. The bridegroom involves blessings on the bride's brothers. One should not marry a woman who has no brothers. The bridegroom approaches the bride. Their eyes should meet. This to make them intimate. The groom holds darba in his fingers and says to the bride: "I am driving away evil spirits from you". He then rubs the darba between her eyebrows, and throws it to the west. This is intended to fascinate the bride.

Vasikarna—Then the brahmins get sanctified water. The darba is made into a wheel and placed on the bride's head signifying that she has to bear half of his burdens. With this intention the hole of the plough yoke is placed pointing towards the south of the ring, the gold ornament is placed in the hole and the bridegroom sprinkles water on the bride (bathes her). The bride is then given new clothes. Darba thread is tied around her waist: *gati sthalam*. He then holds her right hand and goes to the fire. A mat is spread towards the north. He makes her sit on his right side and he sits on her left. The right hand of the groom should be beside the left hand of the bride for this auspicious ceremony. This shows that they love each other. Agni is appeased. The bride is believed to be married to three gods before her earthly marriage: *Soma, Gandharva and Agni*. The fire releases her from her heavenly husbands and enables her to marry her earthly husband. The groom holds the hand of the bride placing his right hand below the right hand of the bride. This is *panigrahanam*: holding the hand. If he desires female progeny he has to hold by her fingers. For male children he holds her by her thumb with his thumb. Holding her hand he says: May I get good children of you. Then he ties the *mangala sutra* saying: for my longevity I am tying this Mangala Sutra to your neck. The *thalabralu* (rice coloured with turmeric) is thrown on the groom's head by the bride and by the groom on the bride's head. Then the bride is made to take seven steps forward with her right foot just towards the east or the north. The groom also

takes seven steps—*Saptapad*. They then go around the fire and seat themselves down. The couple perform *homa* together. The bride is made to walk towards the north of the fire. He says that he is taking her as wife with *agni* as witness. She is made to sit on a stone. She takes *pori* and smears them with ghee. He makes her to take them from her brother who brings them to them and makes her to throw them in the *homa*. This is done thrice. Then *jayati homa* is done. The *darba* thread around the bride's waist is untied and the bride is made to sit on a vehicle (horse, palanquin, etc.). *Panigrahanam* is now over. The groom takes *vivaka agni* (Marriage fire) and goes along with the bride makes *Pravesa homa* (entrance fire) and fulfil *Parimaya viti* (marriage rule).

After *Panigrahanam* the groom brings a cart, yokes bulls to it and makes the bride get in to it first. He consoles her for parting with her kin. He says: "You climb on my head. Bring forth children. You are the *Iswari* of all your parents-in-law and sister-in-law". On reaching his house he makes *grahapravesam* (entry in to the house) with his bride. When the bride enters the house she must not step on the threshold where in *Lakshmi* resides (*Lakshminivasam*). *Homa* to *Agni* is done on the north side of the house. A bull's hide with the neck pointing to the east and the rest to the north is spread in the central part of the house. He sits with bride on the side. The *Jeevapiutra Sadwikumma* (a child representing the deity) is seated on the bride's lap. The child is given fruit. He must keep quite till the star appear. The bride is taken the north-east and down the *Dhruva* and *Aruntati*. She is asked to chaste as *Aruntati* and bring forth a son as good as *Dhruva*. After *Pravesa Homa* the couple have to perform together a number of *homas*. *Grahashtas* along with *Dharma Putras* give the couple advice regarding their performances. For three days from the day of marriage the husband and wife should sleep separately, observe *brahmacharya*, and eat food without salt or savour. On the fourth night after marriage the *ritudhosham* (influence of *gandharvas*, *apsaras*, etc., who earlier possessed the bride) is removed by *thanda* (stick of *Ficus infectoria* or *Ficus bengalensis*) which is wrapped up with cloth or thread.

The *Gandharva* to whom the bride is first married is *Viswavas*. The *Gandharva* reside in the trees from which the *thanda* is obtained. They are appeased. After this the couple should not separate at all. In all literary works in Telugu the *Panigrahanam* and *Saptapadi* are mentioned as the most important rituals. The ritual of *Mangalya Sutra Dharana* appears to be a late interpolation. There is no mention of this rite in the Telugu *Bhagavatam* in the marriage of *Drawpati*, *Subhadra*, *Uttara* and *Rukmani*. *Yodasloka Tatparya Ramanayana* does not mention it. Most of the Telugu works cited have appeared between the 10th and 14th centuries. *Mangalya Sutra Dharana* is the Sanskrit equivalent of the Tamil tali tying rite in marriage. The tali rite in marriage is mentioned in Tamil works of this period is only in indirect references to its being symbolic of the wedded state. Its adoption in the Andhra Country should have been much later than the above period as it is mentioned definitely as a marriage rite in *Gopinatha Ramayana* which is a work of the 19th century.

NAMBUDRI BRAHMINS.

Among the Nambudri Brahmins of Kerala the *tali* is tied before the commencement of the vedic ceremonies of marriage. On the day of the marriage, the bride, after her bath, is dressed and decked by her aunt. The clothes which she puts on are touched by the bridegroom before being given to her. In her right hand the bride holds a hand mirror and a *sarakkol* (ceremonial arrow). The father of the bride has the tali (*cherutali* or small tali) which he had been keeping suspended from his sacred thread. He purifies the tali by putting it in a pot of water, utters the formula, *mangala devatha pariyantham* and then standing in front of bride ties the tali around the bride's neck. As he does so, the women make ululations (*Kulava*).

In the event of the husband predeceasing her, the widow has to have her tali respectively *Ellamma's* and *Parasurama's* bottu on her neck. The neck and the old Mantan-thrown in to the funeral pyre if the death is a natural one. In cases of violent death, the widow throws the tali away in the river or stream in which she takes her purificatory bath.

DEVADASIS.

"Among the Kailolan musicians of Coimbatore, at least one girl in every family should be set apart for the temple service, and she is instructed in music and dancing. At the tali-tying

ceremony she is decorated with jewels, and made to stand upon a heap of paddy (unhusked rice). A folded cloth is held before her by two Dasis who also stand on heaps of paddy. The girl catches hold of the cloth and her dancing master, who is seated behind her, grasping her legs, moves them up and down in time with the music which is played. In the evening she is taken astride a pony to the temple, where a new cloth for the idol, the tali and other articles required for doing puja (worship) have been got ready. The girl is seated facing the idol and the officiating Brahman gives sandal and flowers to her, and ties the tali which has been lying at the feet of the idol round her neck. The *tali* consists of a golden disc and black beads. She continues to learn music and dancing, and eventually goes through the form of a nuptial ceremony. The relations are invited on an auspicious day, and the maternal uncle, or his representative, ties a golden band on the girl's forehead and carrying her, places her on a plank before the assembled guests. A Brahman priest recites *mantram* (prayers), and prepares the sacred fire (homam). For the actual nuptials a rich Brahman possible, and if not a Brahman of more lowly status invited." (E.T. (ii) 138 ff.)⁴³

MATANGI.

The Matangis are a class of prostitutes who are held in much respect in Mysore and Andra. The Matangi is an unmarried woman though she is not bound by a vow of celibacy. She is chosen after a most trying ordeal, unless she happens to be descended from previous Matangi, to represent goddess Matangi. During the village festivals the Matangi abuses and splits upon the people assembled there, the high class Reddis, the purse proud Komatis and even the sacred Brahmans, and they do not take this as an insult, because they think the spittle removes the pollution. In the Canarese country the ceremony of the initiation to mantangihood is performed by Vakkaliga priest. A veritable marriage booth is set up in the courtyard of the house with rice flour, turmeric and *kunkuma muggu* or patterns on the floor, five small pots of water and plantain stems in the corners. The woman who is about to become a Matangi should live on fruits and milk for five days previous to the ceremony. She is dressed in a white sari, and seats herself on the *muggu* close to the central pot. A bamboo basket, containing a pot bearing the device of the two footprints of Ellama an earthen or wooden receptacles, an iron lamp and cane is placed on her head. These are the insignia of the Matangi. The Asadi (who is the male counterpart of the Matangi) sings songs about Ellamma, and the Vakkaliga priest throws rice over the novice's head, feet, knees and shoulders and ties two bottus (marriage badges) called respectively Ellama's and Parasurama's bottu on her neck. The new and old Matangis bawl out Ekkalde Jogvva. The ceremony closes with the drinking of toddy by the Matangis and Asadis." (E.T. IV 299)⁴⁴

BASAVIS.

In Bellary and Mysore the object of making a *Basavi* is to perpetuate the family when there is no male heir. If the only issue in a family is a female, the family becomes extinct if she marries, as by marriage she changes her sept. To prevent this she is not married but dedicated as *Basavi* and continues to belong to her father's sept, to which also any male issue which is born to her belongs. In the Kurnool district the mode in making Basavis is different. The girl is not wedded to an idol but on an auspicious day, is tied by means of a garland of flowers to the garuda *kambham* (lamp) of a Balija Dasari. She is then released either by the man who is to receive her first favours, or by her maternal uncle. A simple feast is held, and a string of black beads tied round the girl's neck. She becomes a prostitute and her children do not marry in to respectable Boya families. A sword with a lime struck on its point is placed upright beside the novice and held in her right hand. It represents the bridegroom who in the corresponding ceremony of Hindu marriage, sits on the bride's left. A tray, on which are Kalasam (vessel of water) and lamp, is then produced and moved thrice in front of the girl. She rises, and carrying the sword in her right hand, places it in the God's sanctuary. Among the dancing girls very similar ceremonies are performed. With them the girl's spouse is represented by a drum instead of a sword, and she bows to it. Her insignia consists of a drum and bells. In dedication of Basavis it is tied round her neck. She is given by way of insignia a cane as a wand carried in the right hand and a gopalam or begging basket, which is slung on the left arm. She is then branded with the emblems of the *chank* and *chakra*. (conch shell and wheel) (E.T. II 136-137)⁴⁵

Tali rite of initiation is distinct from marriage.—Most of the tribes and scheduled castes of Malabar do not perform the Talikatu Kalyanam for their girls. The Aranadan, Cheruman, Karimpalans, Kandans, Kurumbar, Malasar, Malayan, Mavilan, Mukkuvan, Nayadis, Sulayan, Paniyan, Parayan and Vettuvan have no Talikattu ceremony though several of them adopted the use of talis for marriage. None of the aboriginal tribes of Southern India such as the Todas, Kotas, Mudugar, Odder, Yenadi, Kappiliar, Koragar Mogayar, Kurumber, Koya, Khonds, and Savaras have no tali for marriage.

Though in most of the castes the tali is tied during marriage is not invariably the husband who ties it. Among the majority the bridegroom's sister ties tali. This is the case among the Kallar, Kurumber, Kottai-vellalar, Kuyavan, Pallar, Paniyar, Vannar, Valayar, Valambar, Uppiliyar, etc.

In a good number of castes such as among the Kongu Vellalar, Kahatriyas of Malabar, Kurumber of Bellary, the purohit of the same caste or a brahmin ties the tali.

TALIKATTU AND SAMBANDAM OF KERALA.

Talikattu vs. Sambandam of Kerala.—Fawcett was the first anthropologist who gave a correct explanation of Kerala marriage customs. He says:—

"We still, after the manner of children, confound words with things, so it is not surprising that the unfortunate commission arrived at the conclusion that the institution of marriage was and is entirely absent from the Marumakkatayam system." The parties do not plight, troth, and do not call God to witness their union, and so forth. But with this conclusion, suitable enough to the high flown moralist or to restless beings who would sweep away the long results of time and improve on the process of natural development, imposing fanciful arrangements of their own, the anthropologist cannot at all agree. The Sambandam regularly formed, and certainly not haphazard alliance between a man and a woman, having the full sanction of the community, is marriage in every sense of the world. If the tali tying ceremony gave the girl free liberty we might well suspect that the Sambandham followed a ceremony, not a marriage ceremony. But such is by no means the case, for should the woman who is unmarried, for whom Sambandham has not been arranged, or whose husband the man with whom she had Sambandham, is dead—there is no such thing as widowhood—bear a child, she is disgraced, much as is the Brahmin woman under the same circumstances. (F.F. 1901 P. 236)⁴⁶

The *Talikattu Kalyanam* is some what analogous to what devadasi (dancing girl) of other countries (districts) undergoes before she begins her profession. Among royal families, and those of certain Edaprabhus, a Kshatriya, and among the Charna sect, a Nedungadi is invited to the girl's house at an auspicious hour appointed for the purpose, and, in the presence of friends and castemen, ties a tali (marriage badge) round her neck, and goes away after receiving a certain fee for his trouble. (E.T. II 137-138).^{45A} The retention of the tali is not at all obligatory, may it is seldom worn or taken care of after the ceremony. These circumstances clearly show the purely ceremonial character of this form of marriage. (E.T.V. 313)⁴⁷

"Except the Nambudri Brahmins, the lowest castes, and the aboriginal tribes, among all the Hindu communities of the Malabar coast girls have to undergo, before attaining puberty, an elaborate rite in which 1. they are secluded for a short period of time as though they have instructed; 2. after the period of seclusion they are invested with a small ornaments known as the tali by an adult male who is the member of a superior caste, an unrelated member of the same caste, a cross cousin, an aunt or the shaman of a goddess, according to the local custom or the economic means of the celebrants of the right; 3. in most castes after the ritual of investing the girl with the tali she and the man have to spend some hours or days together; and 4. there is in some localities a formal separation of ceremonial destruction of the tie created by the rite. A.A. 1942^{48*}

"Among one of the castes of the Nayars of the Malabar coast of India, a man was married to a girl in a simple ceremony and thereafter never saw her again"⁴⁹ (1).....

The custom of the Nayar of Southern India, among whom a woman lived only a few days with her husband, after which she might 'openly dwell with a lover'⁴⁹ (2)

Marriage was purely a symbolical ceremony which did not result in a permanent tie between a man and woman. As a matter of fact, married women were permitted to have as many lovers as they wished."⁴⁹ (3)

Changes in the meaning of Talikattu of Kerala:—

"Nayar women might have several 'lovers' of their own caste or higher castes, and each man might have several 'mistresses'. There has been dispute over whether marriage existed here. But Kathleen Gough has made clear that there was social control of fatherhood. In the first place, all Nayar women were married before puberty to men of their own caste, and divorced after four days so that their children had the right caste, as a whole, for 'father'. Pollution taboos were observed by all of a woman's children by whomsoever they were begotten, on the death of their mother's ritual husband since he ranked as their ritual father. Secondly, a woman was forbidden to have relations with men of inferior caste. Thirdly, her brothers exercised control over the men who visited her in their home; they could object to her taking a lover of whom they did not approve. And all of a woman's lovers had to make gifts to her at the birth of a child and at certain festivals. But women and men were constantly changing their lovers. The Nayar afford the extreme example of a matrilineal system with a very weak conjugal bond but even among them the conjugal bond and fatherhood were socially instituted and ritualized."⁴⁹ (4)

"The variations of the Sambandham are the Pudamuri, Vastradanam, Uzhamporukkuta, Vidaram kayaruka, etc., Which are local expressions hardly understood beyond the localities in which they are used, but there would be hardly a Malayali who would not readily understand what is meant by *Sambandham tundanguga* (to begin Sambandham). The meaning of this phrase which means 'to marry' is understood throughout Kerala in the same way, and there can be no ambiguity or mistake about it. The 'Lover' so called is the real husband of the woman who contracts the Sambandham or marriage and the father of the children born of her. Ritual pollution is observed by the wife and children on his death."⁴⁹ (5)

"As a form of group marriage, the Nayar institutions clearly will not fit the definition of marriage proposed in Notes and Queries in Anthropology."

"Marriage is an union between a man and a woman that children born to the woman are the legitimate offspring of both parents." (Notes and Queries, 1951, p. 110)⁵⁰

"It did, however, legitimate children, which seems to me the minimum necessary criterion applicable to all those unions which anthropologists, customarily label "marriage.". As a new definition of marriage which will cover all the familiar types, the Nayar case, and several other unusual cases which are commonly recognized as marriage. I have suggested the following: Marriage is a relationship between a woman and one or more other persons which provides that a child born to the woman, under circumstances not prohibited by the rules of the relationship, shall be accorded full birth-status right in his society or social stratum."⁴⁹ (6)

The above quotations from some Western Anthropologists give us an indication of the exposition of the marriage among the Nayars of Kerala. The Tali Kattu was held by them to be a marriage rite in which the girl is married to the community as a whole besides the rite being held to be prepuberty rite of initiation. With the exception of Fawcett (1901) Western Anthropologists have been consistently holding the Tali Kattu or Kerala to be a sort of group marriage rite which enable the woman to lead a life of easy virtue comparable to the South Indian, ancient traditional practices of the Basavi, Devadasi and Matangi. Change in this interpretation came in which the exposition of Gluckman and Gough and later a new definition of marriage to include the Nayar has been evolved by Schneider and Gough. And this newly proposed definition is merely Marett's old wine in new bottles.

"Every kind of socially recognised union between people of opposite sex that enables them by their joint efforts to produce and rear a family must count as marriage for the scientific student of mankind"—R.R. Marett. 1927—*Man in the Making*—London⁵¹

III. THE TALI IN SCULPTURES AND PAINTINGS.

In the Sculpture Gallery of the Madras Government Museum there is a stone sculpture of Balakrishna—Krishna as a young boy. The image is said to have been under worship by the Vijayanagar King Krishnadevaraya (16th century). In this sculpture Krishna is depicted as wearing a tali of tiger claws—*Pulinagam*. Such talis have been in use as ornaments of children as early as the *Sangam Age*. Their use as ornaments has persisted through the modern period and is now being revived by teenage boys at present day. Similarly the wearing of bottu talis is becoming fashionable among very young girls although they are not married.

The representations of the tali in South Indian sculptures and paintings have been explained as signifying the wedded state of the women or goddesses who are thus adorned. A detailed study of such instances reveals the fact that the wedded state is represented in the earlier periods by ornaments in general and not by the tali in particular. Thus the ear ornaments, the neck ornaments and the wrist and arm ornaments all together represented the emblems of the wedded state. This is in consonance with the evidence of literature.

In most of the bronzes of the early Chola and late Chola period the female deities such as Kali, Sita, Durga, Sri Devi and Bhudevi, Uma in Somaskanda groups and Jyeshtha are adorned with the typical tali popularly known as bottu, a cup shaped disc with usually a pair of beads one on either side of the bottu, strung on a thread close fitting the neck. This type of bottu and the way in which it is worn is similar to the mode of the women of the Telugu caste, who wear tali bottus with a pair of black beads or with a full string tied close to the neck and not hanging down in between the breasts, as in the case of Tamil women who wear the Tamil or forked type of tali.

In such instances of the sculptures as noted above the usual interpretation of their signifying the wedded state of the wearer has been assumed by Gravelly and Ramachandran who say "Female figures wear the tali, symbol of the marriage tie, round the neck. This has the form of a thread usually with a small knot or ornamental fastening in front." The assumption that the ornaments represents in the F.H.G. and T.N.R. 1932—P. 19)* sculptures are talis symbolising the marriage tie cannot be conceded as such ornaments are found to adorn both married and virgin deities. The sculptures by themselves offer no evidence to indicate that their ornamental talis symbolise the wedded state of the deities.

In describing the ornaments depicted in the early Buddhist sculptures of Amaravati, Sivaramamurthy considers ear ornaments (*Kundalas*) and necklace (*haras*) and bracelets. (*Kadambari*, 40 and Harshacharitra, 134) and bracelets. The *Gathasaptasati* (1.80) mentions based not merely on the depiction of the ornaments in sculptures described, but by those descriptions in the literature of the period. *Jewelled Kundalas though worn by men, were not altogether discarded by women; and in the Gathasaptasati* there is a verse describing the altered circumstances of a lady in whose ears, which once bore golden kundalas, are to be seen strips of rolled palm leaf. But the usual ornament for the ears of women were talapatra, a small strip of tinted palm leaf, a simple and cheaper ornament. It is very auspicious and is a size of saumangalya, i.e., good fortune in wedded life—in other words with the husband living.

Necklaces of cotton thread perfumed with such scents as the perfume of the individual could afford, were used by women. Children always wear a necklace of tigers claws (*Kadambari*, 40 and Harshacharita, 134) and bracelets. The *Gathasaptasavi* (1.80) mention perforated bracelet (*jalavalaya*) and gives a beautiful description of a woman after the bath removing turmeric dust from the perforations of the jalavalaya with a pick. The *Gathasaptasavi* was compiled by the very king under whose patronage the Amaravathi sculptures were produced.

The term *Chirachuduka* was applied mainly to bracelets of rhinoceros horn but included ivory also. Both were considered specially auspicious. Bracelets were worn by men and women alike, but in the case of the latter they symbolised Saumangalya (auspicious i.e., having their husbands alive). The *Gathasaptasati* thus call bracelets *avidhavalakshnavalaya* (bracelets indicating wife hood).

1. Sanskritists derive the word *tali* from the above *tala patra* (*tala* palm, *patra*, leaf) the palm leaf rolls used as ear ornaments and at the same time—Signifying *saumangalya*.

(C.S. ** 1942, pp. 110-112) Sankara (789-820 A.D.) the author of the Advaita philosophy of Hinduism in Verse 27 of his *Ananda Lahari* (the Blissful wave) refers to *Tatankas* or ear ornaments as constituting as *saumangalya* of a woman:—

The heaven seated gods, who drunk the nectar wine
Against fear, age and death, did hundreds of all rites.
All die. But Shambu drank the poison, yet abides,
O Mother: Through the greatness of Thine eardrop's sign

Tatankas are ear ornaments of the Devi, which are the outward symbols of married life of a *Sumangali*—one who lives with her husband. Removal of the Tatankas of a woman is a sign of widowhood. The tatankas of the Devi can only be removed when woman is a sign of widowhood.

This is a later instance (9th century) where the distinction between ear ornaments, necklaces and bracelets as marks of *saumangalya* is not clear. Even at this period ornaments in general constituted the symbols of the wedded state and the tali has not yet come in to prominence.

In all the instances cited above necklaces, ear ornaments and bracelets or bangles denote the wedded state of the women wearing them—*saumangalya*—in Sanskrit literature of the Buddhist period. In Tamil literature of the same period i.e., Sangam Age, the same significance is ascribed to the above ornaments regarding the wedded state of wearers. These parallels in Tamil literature of the same period cited below show that the above ornaments represented the wedded state of the women and their absence or removal their widowhood.

Ornaments in General as Emblems of the Wedded State of Women in Sangam Age Literature:

The generous King Ali gave all that he could to those who sought his aid. He then gave away all those things. The wives retained only those jewels that could not be given away *Agananuru* 127.

— The King Valayan Venman died in battle, His rightful women lamented his loss by tearing and throwing away their flower garlands. *Agananuru* 208.

The poet Avur Mulangilar says that the generous chieftain who supported him died. His wife then had her head shaved, assumed the apparel of widowhood and had her ornaments removed. *Purananuru* 261.

The Chola King Karikalan died, therefore his women removed their ornaments, *Purananuru* 224.

The generous King Veliman died, his rightful women had their ornaments removed. *Purananuru* 238.

When Kannagi was widowed by the execution of her husband Kovalan, she discarded her gold ornaments, broke her bracelets, in front of the temple of Durga and threw them away.

The above illustrations show that ornaments in general were the emblems of *Saumangalya* and their removal the rite of widowhood during the Sangam Age.

In his paper on the Sigiriya Frescoes, M.D. Raghavan says: "Ear ornaments are generally known by the name of Kundal as which are of different types. The simplest is crescent shaped in the form of a curved ring. 'A common pattern is the roll of palm leaf which encircled the distended ear lobe and are either of the same width as the rim of the lobe, or slightly broader. In the Sigiriya frescoes we have both the patterns, the curved ring form which seems to pull down the ear lobe with its weight, and circular roll of palm leaf. The latter is called the talapatra considered very auspicious, as betokening a married lady. A development of the simple palm leaf gives us the same form made in gold in the form of a scroll, Swarnapatra Kundala. This later is possibly the type seen in the Sigiriya Frescoes. Of necklaces we find as many as three, four or five adorning the figures the number, varying in different figures. It is remarkable that almost every figure has first a necklet, a string on which is strung three beads—One central bead escorted by one rather smaller bead on either side. This is the typical form of the tali, the marriage symbol of all Hindu women. The tali is single beaded, the shape of which varies according to the caste

*F.H. Gravely and T.N. Ramachandran—Catalogue of South Indian Metal Images, Madras Govt. Museum, 1932.

*C. Sivaramamurthy—Amaravathi Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum 1962, 110-112.

and the religion. The commonest form is the circular oval bead with two smaller beads, one on either side. Certain Hindu castes in Tinnevely, use a flattened form with star shaped golden bead on either side, the whole necklet being termed, *chirakum taliyum* or the wings and the tali. With some castes the tali takes a leaf pattern. The tali is worn on a cotton strand sometimes on a double strand, as we notice in some of the Sigiriya figures. In only two of the Sigiriya figures including the figure of the dark coloured maid, we do find this necklet. The tali is the unfailing symbol of a Sumangali, living with her husband. If the beads were meant to serve a purely ornamental purpose, a full string of beads would obviously have graced the neck, as seen in the Ajanta frescoes, and not first three beads or a single one or double. The presence of what looks unmistakably like a tali, would raise a number of interesting side issues, such as the survival of the tali, in Ceylon, a distinctly Hindu trait. The presence of the tali as a marriage symbol in Ceylon, would indeed seem to be strongly indicated by the custom in the wedding ceremonies of the Sinhalese, which goes by the name of *tali pili andavina* or the traditional custom of the bridegroom tying the tali on the necklace round the neck of the bride, followed by the exchange of pressure wedding apparel. The simple tali would thus seem to have evolved in course of time in to the more showy necklace.

The big gem set pendant in the necklace, and the gem set crown, are well matched by the solid broad bracelets set with big stones, which embellish the wrist in all the figures. Bracelets, as a decoration of the ladies symbolised the married status of the women and indicative of a *summangali*."

IV. TALIS IN TREASURE TROVE HOARDS.

Talis found in treasure trove hoards in the jewellery reserve collections of the Madras Government Museum were examined to see at the statement of M.D. Raghavan that the simple tali would have evolved in to the more showy necklace could be conceded. It is found that large numbers of talis of very small size and excellent workmanship evidently made and strung in to necklaces were found earlier and the large showy single tali came to be in vogue later. The illustration in this regard would go to show clearly that the smaller talis were in abundance and gradually came to be reduced in number and increased in size till recent times we have only the large tali (Pl. VI. fig. 1 and 2). The use of such large talis is found among the caste of the Southern districts of Madras especially among the Kallar, Maravar, Agamudaiyar and Vellalar.

M.D. Raghavan says that the ear ornaments (*talapatra* and *swarnakundala patra*) the necklaces (*tali*) and the bracelets all indicate the wedded state of the ladies wearing them. He also considers the tali is a distinctly Hindu trait and that the tali tying rite is a marriages rite of Sinhalese. Literary evidences clearly show that ear ornaments, necklaces and bracelets or ornaments in general have been the symbols of a Sumangali (a woman in the wedded state) from the time of the Silapadigaram of the Second Century A.D. The tali at the same time has been represented throughout as an ornament. It came to be symbol of the sumangali only in the 11th or 12th Century. Again it is not the symbol of the wedded state of all Hindu women but only of most South Indian women—Hindu, Muslim and Christian. The simple tali in course of time would have evolved in to the more showy necklace. On the other hand a necklace of a large number of small beads would in course of time have evolved in to a simple tali with one, two or three beads which is more probable as the few beads in the latter are larger and more ornamental. As in the case of sculptures mentioned above, representations in paintings of ornaments cannot be given their contemporary significance unless the same could be corroborated by historical evidence. The literary evidences cited in this connection would go to show that the tali acquired its significance as an emblem of the wedded state nearly millennium after its appearance as an ornament. As such the ladies who are represented in the Sigiriya frescoes may have been Sumangalis in their own right (if they had constituted the harem of Kasyapa the Parricide) and not because they are wearing talis. Attributing sumangali status to them on account of their wearing ear ornaments and bangles is more in accord with evidences from South Indian literature.

V. THE ORNAMENTS USED AS TALIS.

The ornaments in general can be classified under three types. The bottu type of tali is common in Andra, Kannada and Maharashtra. It is a hemispherical or conical cup or a flat disc and may have central boss and sometimes a fring of small beads. The forked type of Tamil tali is said to be conventionalised form of the *pullipal* or tiger's teeth tali of the ancient Tamils. This may be square sided, rounded or flat. Another type of forked tali is met with as a single two pronged unit or a double three pronged unit which is said to be the conventionalised form of Vishnu Pada. Various symbols like the lingam, nammam, vibuthi, the cross, sun, moon, tulasi plant, flower pots, are represented on the talis. The simplest type is the amulet or talisman type which consists of a cylindrical piece called *tayattu* found mostly among aboriginal people.

TAMIL QUOTATION

1. Agananuru

புலிப்பல் கோத்தபுலம்புமணித் தாலி

2. Purananuru 334

புலிப்பல் தாலிப் புன்தளைச் சீனார்

3. Thiruthondar Puranam 10-9

அரும்பெறல் மறவர் தாயத் தான்றதொல் குடியில் வந்தாள்
இரும்புலி எயிற்றுத்தாலி குடையிடைமனவு கோத்துப்
பெரும்புறம் அலையப் பூண்டாள் பீலியும் குழையும் தட்டச்
சுரும்புறு படலை முச்சிச்சுர் அரிப் பிணவு போல்வாள்.

4. Thiruvilaiyadal Puranam 26-21

அழிதன் குறுகுவான் முன்னங்கயற்கண்ணி தந்தக்
குழையிருகாதுங் கோத்துக் கொலை கெழ புலிப் பற்றாலி
நுழைமயிர் நெடுநாண் பின்னோபிட ரலைப்பப் பூண்டோர்
பழிதகையாத வேடப் பாவையாய்ப் படிவங்கொள்ள

5. Purananuru 77

தாலிகளைத்தன்றும் இலனே.

6. Thiruthondar Puranam

தம்பிரானருளினாலே தவத்தினாள் மிக்கார் போற்றும்
நம்பியா ரூரென்றே நாமுமுந் சாத்தி மிக்க
வைம்படை சதங்கை சாத்தியணி மணிச்சுட்டி சாத்திச்
செம்பொனாரணரையின் மின்னத் தெருவிற்றேருட்டு நாளிள்
நரசிங்க முனையரென்று நாடு வாழ ரசர் கண்டு
பரவருங் காதல் கூரப் பயந்தவர் தம்பாற்சென்று
விரவிய நண்பினாலே வேண்டினர் பெற்றுத்தங்க
ளரசிளங்குமாரர்கேற்ப வன்பினான் மகன் மைக் கொண்டார்.

7. Thiruvilaiyadal Puranam 31-25

ஐம்படை மார்பிற் காணேன் சிறு சிலம்படியிற் காணேன்
மொயம்பிடை மதாணி காணேன் முகத்தசை சுட்டி காணேன்
மின்படுகுழைகள் காணேன் வெற்றுடல் கண்டேனப்பா
வென்பெறுமென்று பிள்ளைப் பணிகளுங் கவர்ந்தாரென.

8. NDP ; 48

எழிலார் திருமார்வுக் கேற்கு மிவையென்று
அழகிய ஐம்படையும் ஆரமுங் கொண்டு
வழுவிவ கொடையாள் வயிச்சி ராவணன்
தொழுதுவ னாய்நின்றான் தாலேலோ
தூமணி வண்ணனே தாலேலோ

9. NDP ; 87

செக்கரிடை நுளிக் கொம்பில் தோன்றும் சிறுபிறை முளைப்போல்
நக்க செந்துவரவாய்த் திண்ணை மீதே நளிர்வெண்பல் முளையிகை
அக்குவடமுடுத்து ஆமைத்தாலி பூண்ட அனந்தசயனன்
தக்கமாமனூ வண்ணன் வாகதேவன் தளர்நடை நடவானோ

10. NDP ; 172

வேலிக்கோல் வெட்டி விளையாடுவில் லேற்றி
தாலிக் கொழந்தைத் தடங்கழுத்திற் பூண்டு
பீலித்தழையைப் பிணைத்து ப்பிறகிட்டு
காலிப்பின் போவாற்கு ஓர்கோல் கொண்டுவிட
கடல்நிற வண்ணற்கோர் கோல் கொண்டுவிட

11. Thiruthondar Puranam 1041 0490 P463-464

நல்ல நாள்பெற ஓரையின் நலமிக உதிப்பப்
பல்பெருங்கிளையுடன் பெருவணிகர் பார் முழுதும்
எல்லையில் தனம் முகந்து கொண்டியாவரும் உவப்ப
மல்லல் ஆயண மறுகிடைப் பொழித்துளம் மகிழ்ந்தார்.

-1041

ஆறு குடிய முடியினார் அடியவர்க் கன்பால்
ஈறிலாத பூசனைகளையா வையும்மிகச் செய்து
மாசி லாமறையவர்க்கு வேண்டின எலாம் அளித்துப்
பேறு மற்றிதுவே எனும் பெருங்களி சிறந்தார்.

-1042

குத நல்வினை மங்கலத் தொழில்முறை தொடங்கி
வேத நீதியின் விதியுளி வாழ்வகை விரித்த
சாதகத்தோடு சடங்குகள் தசதினஞ்செல்லக்
காதல் மேவிய சிறப்பினில் கடிவிழா அயர்ந்தார்.

-1043

யாவரும் பெரு மகிழ்ச்சியால் இன்புறப்பயந்த
பாவை நல்லாறுப் பணிகிளர் பண்பெலாம் நோக்கிப்
பூவினாளென பருதலிற் பூம்பாவை என்றே
மேவும் நாமமும் விளம்பினர் புலியின் மேல் விளக்க

-1044

திங்கள் தோறும் முன் செய்யும் அத்திருவளர் சிறப்பின்
மங்கலம் புரி நல்வினை மாட்சியிற் பெருக
அங்கண் மாநகர் அமைத்திட ஆண்டெதிர் அணைந்து
தங்கு பேரொளிச் சீரடிதளர் நடை பயில

-1045

தளரும் மின்னின் அங்குரமெனத் தமனியக் கொடி மின்
வளரிளந் தளர்க்கிளையென மணிகிளர் ஒளியின்
அளவில் அஞ்சுடர்க் கொழுந்தென அணைவுறும் பருவத்து
இளவனப்பணை அனையவர்க் கேழியாண்டெய்த

-1046

அழகின் முன்னிளம் பதமென அணி விளக்கென்ன
விழவு கொண்டெழும் பேதையருடன் விளையாட்டில்
கழலொடம்மனை கந்துகம் என்று மற்றினைய
மழலை மென்கிளிக் குலமென மனையிடை ஆடி

-1047

பொற்றொடிச்சிறு மகளிர் ஆயத்தொடும் புணர்ந்து
சிறறில் முற்றவும் இழைத்துடன் அடுத்தொழிற் சிறுசோ(று)
உற்ற உண்டிகள் பயின்றொளி மணி பூசல் ஆடி
மற்றும் இன்புறு வண்டலாட்டயர் வுடன் வளர

-1048

தந்தை யாரும் அத்தளிரிளங் கொம்பனாள் தகைமை
இந்த வைகைத் தின்மையால் இன்புறு களிப்பு
வந்த சிந்தையின் மகிழ்ந்து "மற்றிவள் மணம்பெறுவான்
அந்த மில்லென தருநிதிக் குரியன்" "என்றழைந்தார்."

-1049

12. Thiruthondar Puranam 24-2-6

வங்கமலி கடற்கரைக் காலிகண் வாழ்வணிகர்
 தங்கள் குலத்தலைவனார் தனத்தனார்வத்தால்
 அங்கவர்பால் திருமடந்தை அவதரித்தாள் எனவந்து
 பொங்கிய பேரழகு மிகப் புனிதவதியார் பிறந்தார்.

வணிகர் பெரும்குலம் விளங்க வந்து யிறந்தருளியபின்
 அணிகிளர் மெல் அடிதளர்வுற்றசெயுநடைப் பருவத்தே
 பணி அணிவார் கழற்கடிமை பழகிவரும் பாங்குபெறத்
 தணிவில் பெருமனர்காதல் ததும்பவரும் மொழி பயிறார்

பல்பெருநற் கிலை உவப்பப் பயில் பருவச் சிறப்பெல்லாம்
 செல்வமிகு தந்தையார் திருப்பெருகுஞ் செயல் புரிய
 மல்குபெரும் பாராட்டின் வளர் கின்றார் விடையவர்பால்
 அல்கிய அன்புடன் அழகின் கொழுந்தெழுவ தென வளர்வார்

வண்டல் பயில் வன எல்லாம் வளர் மதியம் புனைந்த சடை
 அண்டர்பிரான் திருவார்த்தை அனையவருவன பயின்ற
 தொண்டர் வரில் தொழுதுதாதியர் போற்றத் துணை போகேன்
 கொண்டறுகப் பொதுங்குபதக் கொள்கையினிற்குறுகினார்

நல்லவென உறுப்பு நூலவர் உரைக்கும் நலம் நிரம்பி
 மல்கு பெருவனப்புமீக் கூரவரு மாட்சியினால்
 இல்லிகவாப் பருவத்தில் இவர்கள் மரயினுக்கேற்கும்
 தொல்குலத்து வணிகர் மகப் பேசுதற்குத் தொடங்குவார்.

13. Thiruthondar Puranam: 7-36-21

கருணாமயிர் நூதற்சட்டி துணைக்காதன் மணிக்ருதம்பை
 மருவுதிருக் கண்டநாண் மார்பினில் ஐம்படை கையிற்
 பொருவில் வயிரச்சரிகள் பொன்னரை ஞாண் புனை சதங்கை
 தெருவிலொளி விளங்கவளர் திருவிளையாட்டினி லமர்ந்தார்.

14. Agananuru: 86

உழுந்துதலைப் பெய்த்தொழுங்களி மிதவை
 பெருஞ்சோற்று அமலை நிற்ப நிரைகால்
 தண்பெரும் பந்தர்த் தருமணல் ஞெமிரி
 மனைவிளக் குறுத்துமாலை தொடரிக்
 கனைஇருள் அகன்ற கவின் பெருங்காலைக்

கோள்கால் நீங்கிய கோடுவெண் திங்கள்
 கோடில் விழுப்புகழ் நாள் தலை வந்தென
 உச்சிக் குடத்தர் புத்தகன் மண்டையர்
 பொதுசெய் கம்பலை முதுசெம் பெண்டிர்
 முன்னவும் பின்னவும் முறைமுறை தரத்தரப்

புதல்வன் பயந்த திதலைஅவ் வயிற்று
 வால்இழை மகளிர் நால்வர் கூழிக்
 'கற்பினின் வழாஅ நற்பல உதவிப்
 பெற்றேற் பெட்கும் பிணையை ஆக' -என
 நீரோடு சொரிந்த ஈர்இதழ் அலரி

பல்இருங் கதுப்பின் நெல்லொடு தயங்க
 வதுவை நன்மணம் கழிந்த பின்றைக்
 கல்லென் சும்மையர் ஞெரேரெனப் புகுதந்து
 'பேர்இற் கிழத்தி ஆக, எனத்தமர் தர
 ஓர்இற் கூடிய உன்புணர் கங்குல்.

15. Purananuru: 136

யாழ்ப் பத்தர்ப் புறங்கடுப்ப
 இழைவலந்த பஃறுன்னத்
 திடைப்புரைப் பற்றிப் பிணிவிடாது

ஈர்க் குழாத்தோ டிரைகூர்ந்த
 பே எற்பகையென வொன்றென்கோ
 உண்ணாமையி சொன் வாடித்
 தெண்ணீரிற் கண்மல்கிக்
 கசிவுற்ற வென் பல்கிளையொடு
 சியலைக்கும் பகையொன்றென்கோ
 அன்ன தன்மையு மறிந்தீயார்
 நின்னது தாவென நிலை தளர
 மரம் பிறங்கிய நளிச்சிலம்பிற்
 குரங் கன்னபுன் குறுங்கூளியர்
 பரந்தலைக்கும் பகையென்றென்கோ
 ஆ அங், கெனைப் பகையு மறியுநனாய்
 எனக் கருதிப் பெயரேத்தி
 வாயரநின் னிசை நம்பிச்
 சுடர் சுட்ட சுரத்தேறி
 சிவன் வந்த பெருநசையேம்
 எமக்கீயோர் பிறர்க்கீவோர்
 பிறர்க்கீவோர் தமக்கீபவரென
 அனைத்துரைத்தனன் யானாக
 நினைக்கொத்தது நீ நாடி
 நல்கினை விருமதி பரிசிலல்கலும்
 தண்புலல் வாயிற் துறையூர் முன்னுறை
 நுண்பல மணலினு மேத்தி
 உண்குவம் பெருமநீ நல்கியவளனே.

16. N.N.T. 7-8:

சாந்த மூழ்கு தடம்புயன் ஆரமற்
 கேய்ந்த யாவும் இனிதுமு டித்தபின்
 ஆய்ந்த நான்பறை பினவழி ஆய்இழை
 காந்தன் மெல்விற் கைபிடித் தானளே-7
 பொங்கு செந்தழங் குழுவந்து பூம்பொரி
 செங்கை ஆரச் சொரிந்து திருமகள்
 பங்கயப்பதம் பைம்பொனின் அம்மிவைத்து
 அங்கண வானத் தருந்ததி காட்டினாள்-8
 நைடதம்: நள்ள திருமணம்: 7, 8.
 அதிவீர ராம பாண்டியன்:

Adivira Rama Pandiyau: Naitatam: Nalan Thirumanam, V: 7, 8.

17. Perungathai

கலினங்காலின் கான்று நுரை தெவிட்டும்
 வலியுடையுரத்தின் வான் பொற்றாலி.

18. N.D.P. : 556- 566

வாரண மாயிரம் குழுவ லஞ்செய்து,
 நாரண நம்பி நடக்கின்றா னென்று எதிர்,
 பூரண பொற்குடம் வைத்துப் புறமெங்கும்,
 தோரணம் நாட்டக் கனாக்கண்டேன் தோழி நான்.
 நாளைவ துவைம ணமென்று நாளிட்டு,
 பாளை சுமுகுப ரிசுடைப் பந்தற் கீழ்,
 கோளரி மாதவன் கோவிந்த னென்பான் ஓர்
 காளைபு குதக்க னாக்கண்டேன் தோழி நான்.
 இந்திர னுள்ளிட்ட தேவர்கு ழாமெல்லாம்,
 வந்திருந்து என்னை மகட்பேசி மந்திரித்து,
 மந்திரக் கோடியு டுத்திம ணமாலை,
 அந்திரி குட்டக் கனாக்கண்டேன் தோழி நான்.

நால்திசைத் தீர்த்தம்கொ ணர்ந்துந னிநல்கி
 பார்ப்பனச் சிட்டர்கள் பல்லாரெ டுத்தேத்தி
 பூப்புனை கண்ணிப்பு னிதனோடு என் தன்னை
 காப்புநாண் கட்டக்க னாக்கண்டேன் தோழி நான்
 கதிரொளி தீபம்க லசமு டனேந்தி,
 சதிரள மங்கையர் தாம்வந்து எதிர்க்கொள்ள.
 மதுரையார் மன்னன் அடிநிலை தொட்டு, எங்கும்
 அதிரப்பு குதக்க னாக்கண்டேன் தோழி நான்
 மத்தளம் கொட்டவ ரிசங்கம் நின்றுத
 முத்துடைத் தாமம் நி ரைதாழ்ந்த பந்தற்கீழ்
 மைத்துனன் நம்பிம துகுதனன் வந்து என்னை
 கைத்தலம் பற்றக்க னாக்கண்டேன் தோழி நான்
 வாய்நல்லார் நல்லம றையோதி மந்திரத்தால்,
 பாசிலை நாணல்ப டுத்துப்பு ரிதிவைத்து,
 காய்சின மாகளி றன்னான் என் கைப்பற்றி,
 தீவலஞ் செய்யக் கணாக்கண்டேன் தோழி நான்.
 இம்மைக்கும் ஏழேழ்பி றவிக்கும் பற்றாவான்,
 நம்மையு டையவன் நாராயணன் நம்பி,
 செம்மையு டையதி ருக்கையால் தாள்பற்றி,
 அம்மிமி திக்கக்க னாக்கண்டேன் தோழி நான்
 வரிசிலை வாள்முகத் து என்னைமார் தாம் வந்திட்டு
 எரிமுகம் பாரித்து என்னைமுன்னே நிறுத்தி
 அரிமுக ன்அச்சதன் கைம்மேல்என் கைவைத்து,
 பொரிமுகந் தட்டக்க னாக்கண்டேன் தோழி நான்.
 குங்கும மப்பிக்கு ளிர்சாந்தம் மட்டித்து,
 மங்கல லீதுவ லஞ்செய்து மணநீர்,
 அங்குஅவ னோடும்உ டன்சென்றுஅங் குஆனைமேல்
 மஞ்சன் மாட்டக்க னாக்கண்டேன் தோழி நான்
 ஆயனுக் காகத்தான் கண்டக னாவினை,
 வேயர் புகழ்வில்லி புத்தூர்க்கோன் கோதைசொல்,
 தூபதமிழ்மாலை ஈரைந்தும் வல்லவர்,
 வாழும்நன் மக்களைப் பெற்றும் கிழ்வரே.

19. N.D.P. 480

கீசகீசென்று எங்கும் ஆனைச்சாத்தான் கலந்து
 பேசின பேச்சரவம் கேட்டிலையோ? பேய்ப்பெண்ணே!
 காகம் பிறப்பும் கலகலப்பக்கை பேர்த்து
 தாச நறுங்குழலாய்ச்சியர் மத்தினால்
 ஒசைபடுத்த தயிரரவம் கேட்டிலையோ!
 நாயகப்பெண்பிள்ளாய்! நாராயணன் மூர்த்தி
 கேசவனைப்பாடவும் நீ கேட்டேகிடத்தியோ?
 தேசமுடையாய்? திறவேலோரெம்பாவாய்.

20. KANDHA PURANAM: 247

மங்கல நாணை மணிக்களம் ஆர்த்து
 நங்கை முடிக்கோர் நறுந்தொடை சூழ்ந்தான்.

21. KANDHA PURANAM: 4

செற்றாலமுயிரனைத்து முண்டிடவே
 நிமிர்ந்தெழுந் சிந்தை மேற்கொள்
 பற்றாலகது நுகர்து நான்முகனே
 முதலோர்தம் பாவைமார்கள்.
 பொற்றாலிதனையிளித்தோன் புகழ்போற்றி
 முகின்மேனி புத்தெளிவையும்
 குற்றால மாவதொரு வளநகரைக்
 குறுமுனிவன் குறுகினானால்.

22. TAKKAYAGA PARANI: 15-2

மையலான் மிகுந்தக்கன் மக்களாம்
தையலாரையும் தாலிவாரியே

23. THIRUTHONDAR PURANAM: 1155-1243

பெருமகிழ்ச்சியுடன் செல்லப்பெருந்தவ த்தால் பெற்றவரும்
மறுவுபெருங்கிளையான மறையவரும் உடன்கூடித்
"திருவளர்ஞானத்தலைவர் திருமணஞ் செய்தருளுதற்குப்
பருவமிது" என்றெண்ணி அறிவிக்கப்பாங்கணைந்தார்.

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நாட்டுமறைமுறையொழுக்கம் ஞானபோனகருக்கும்
கூட்டுவது மனங்கொள்வார் "கோதில்மறைடுநறிச் சடங்கு
காட்டவரும் வேள்விபல புரிவதற்கோர் கன்னிதனை
வேட்டறாள் வேண்டும் என விண்ணப்பஞ் செய்தார்கள்.

-1156

திருஞான சம்பந்தர் சீர்பெருக மணம்புணரும்
பெருவாழ்வு திருத்தொண்டர் மறையவர்கள் மிகப்பேணி
வருவாரும் பெருஞ்சுற்றம் மகிழ்சிறப்ப மகப்பேசத்
தருவார்தன் பணைநல்லூர் சார்கின்றார் தாதையார்.

-1162

மிக்கதிருத் தொண்டர்களும் வேதியரும் உடன் ஏகத்
திக்குநிகழ் திருநல்லூர்ப் பெருமணத்தைச் சென்றெய்தத்
தக்கபுகழ் நம்பாண்டார் நம்பிதாம் அதுகேட்டுச்
செக்கரமுடிச் சடையார்தந் திருப்பாதந் தொழுதெழுவார்.

-1163

ஒப்பரிய பேறுவகை ஒங்கிளமும் உள்ளத்தால், அப்புநிறை
குடம்விளக்கு மலுகெல்லாம் அணிபெருகிச், செப்பரியஆர்வ
மிகு பெருஞ்சுற்றத் தொடுஞ்சென்றே, "எப்பொருளும் எய்தி
னேன் எனத்தொழுதங் கெதிர்கொண்டார்.

-1164

"ஞானபோனகருக்கு நற்றவத்தின் ஒழுக்கத்தால்
ஊனமில் சீலத் (து)உம்பால் மகப்பேசவந்த" தென
"ஆன பேறந்தணர்பால் அருளுடையமையாம்"என்று
வானளவு நிறைந்தபெருமன மகிழ்ச்சியொடு மொழிவார்.

-1166

"உம்முடைய பெருந்தவத்தால் உலகனைத்தும் ஈன்றளித்த
அம்மை திருமுலைப்பாலின் குழைத்த ஆரமுதுண்டார்க்கு
எம்முடைய குலக்கொழுந்தையாம் உய்யத்தருகின்றோம்
வம்மின்"என உரைசெய்து மனம்மகிழ்ந்து செலவிடுத்தார்.

-1167

பேருவகையால் இசைவுபெற்றவர்தாம் மீண்டணைந்து
காருலவு மலர்சோலைக் கழமலத்தை வந்தெய்திச்
சீருடைய பிள்ளையார் கவர்நேர்ந்தபடி செப்பிப்
பார்குலவுந் திருமணத்தின் பான்மையினைத் தொடங்குவார்.

-1168

திருமணஞ்செய் கலியாணத்திருநாளும் திகழ்சிறப்பின்
மருவிய ஓரையும் கணித மங்கலநூலவர் வகுப்பப்
பெருகு மணநாளோலை பெருஞ்சிறப்பினுடன் போக்கி
அருள்புரிந்த நன்னாளில் அணிமுளைப்பாலிகை விதைத்தார்

-1199

செல்வமலி திருப்புகலிச் செழுந்திருவீ திகளெல்லாம்
மல்கு நிறைகுடம் விளக்குமகரதோ நிரைத்தே
எல்லையிலா ஒளிமுத்து மாலகை எங்கணு நாற்றி
அல்கு பெருந்திருஞங்க அணிசிறிக்க அலங்கரித்தார்.

-1170

அருந்தவத்தோர் அந்தணர்கள் அயலுள்ளோர்தாம் உய்யப்
பொருந்து திருநாளோலை பொருவிற்றார் கொண்டணையாத்
திருந்து புகழ்நம்மாண்டார் நம்பிசிறப்பெதிர்கொண்டு
வருந்தவத்தன் யகட்கொடுப்பார் வதுவைவினை தொடங்குவார்

-1171

மண்ணுபெருஞ்சுற்றத்தார் எல்லாரும் வந்தீண்டி
நன்னிலைமைத் திருநாளுக்கெழுநாளாம் நன்னாளிற்
பன்மணிமங்கலமுரசம் பல்லியங்கள் நிறைந்தார்ப்பப்
பெண்மணிப்பாலிகைமீது புனித முளை பூரித்தார்.

-1172

சேனையரும் மாடங்கள் திருப்பெருகு மண்டபங்கள்
நீணிலைய மாளிகைகள் நிகரில் அணிபெறவிளக்கிக்
காணவநங்கைவண்ணம் கவினோங்கும்படி எழுதி
வானிலவு மணிக்கடைக்கண் மங்கலக் கோலம்புனைந்து.

-1173

நீடுநிலைத் தோரணங்கள் நீள்மறுகுதொறும் நிறைந்து
மாடுயருங்கொடிமாலை மணிமாலை இடைப்போக்கிச்
சேடுயரும் வேதிகைகள் செழுஞ்சாந்து கொடுநீவிய்
யிடுகெழு மணிமுத்தின் பெரும்பந்தர் பல புனைந்தார்.

-1174

மன்றல் வினைத்திருமுளைநாள் தொடங்கிவரு நாளெல்லாம்
மூன்றில்தோறும் வீதிதோறும் முகநெடுவாயில்கள் தோறும்
நின்றொளிரும் மணிவிளக்கு நிறைவாசப் பொற்குடங்கள்
துன்றுசுடர்த்தாமங்கள் தூபங்கள் துதைவித்தார்.

-1175

எங்கணுமெய்த் திருத்தொண்டர் மறையவர்கள் ஏனையோர்
மங்கலநீல் மணவினைநாள்கேட்டு மிக மகிழ்வெய்திப்
பொங்குதிருப்புகலிதனில் நாடோறும் புகுந்தீண்ட
அங்கண் அணைந்தவர்க்கெல்லாம் பெருஞ்சிறப்பு மிக அளித்தார்

-1176

மங்கலதூரியநா தம் மறுகுதோறும் நின்றியம்பப்
பொங்கியநாள் மறையோசை கடலோசை மிசைப்பொலியத்
தங்குநலங்குறை அகிலின் தழைத்த செழும் புகையினுடன்
செங்கனல் ஆகுதிப்புகையும் தெய்வவிரை மணம்பெருக

-1177

எண்டிகையினுள்ளோரும் ஈண்டுவளத்தோடு நெருங்கப்
பண்டநிறைசாலைகளும் பலவேறு விதம்பயில
மண்டுபெருநிதிக்குவைகள் மலைப் பிறங்கல் எனமயில்
உண்டிவினைப் பெருந்துழனி ஓவாத ஒலி ஒங்க

-1178

மாமறைநூல் விதிச்சடங்கில் வகுத்தமுறை நெறி மரபின்
தூமண நல்லுபகரணம் சமைப்பவர்தந் தொழிலிதுவன்றத்
தாமரையோன் அணையருந்தவ மறையோர்தா மெடுத்த
பூமருவு பொற்கலசப் புண்ணிய நீர் பொலிவெய்த.

-1179

குங்குமதீன் வெழுஞ்சேற்றின் கூட்டமைப்போர் இனங்குழும்பு
பொங்குவிரைப் புதுக்கலவைப் புகை எடுப்போர் தொகைவிரவத்
துங்கநறுங் கர்ப்பூரச் சுண்ணம் இடிப்போர் நெருங்க
எங்குமலர்ப் பிணைபுரிவோர் ஈட்டங்கள் மிகப்பெருக.

-1180

மாறிலாநிறை வளந்தரு புகலியின் மணமிக்
கூறுநாளின் முன்னாளினில் வேதியர்குழாமும்
நீனுசேர்திருத் தொண்டரும் நிகரிலாத வருக்(கு)
ஆறுகுடினார் அருட்டிருக்காப்புநாண் அணிவார்.

-1182

வேதவாய்மையின் விதியுளிவினையினால் விளங்க
ஓதநீருலகியன்முறை ஒழுக்கமும் பெருக்க
காதல் நீள்திருத் தொண்டர்கள் மறையவர் கவினார்
மாதா மைந்தர் பொற்காப்பு நாண் நகர்வலஞ் செய்தார்

-1183

செம்பொனின்பரி கலத்தினிற் செந்நெல் வெண்பரப்பின்
வம்பணிந்தநீன் மாலையுழ் மருங்குற அமைந்த
அம்பொன் வாசகநீர்ப் பொற்றாடகம் அரசிலைதருப்பை
பம்புநீன்கடர் மணவிளக்கொளிதரும் பரப்பில்

-1185

ஆர்வம்மிக்கெழும் அன்பினால் மலரயன் அனைய
சீர்மறைத் தொழிற்டங்கு செய்திநந்து நூல்முனிவர்
பார்வழிப்படவரும் இருவினைகளின்பந்தச்
சார்பொழிப்பவர் திருக்கையிற்காப்பு நாண்சாத்த

-1186

- கழிமாநகர் வேதியர்குழாத் தொடுங்கலந்து
குழும் அன்பர்கள் ஏனையோர் துதைந்துமுன்செல்ல
வாழிமாமறை முழங்கிடவளம் பதிவணங்கி
நீழல்வெண்சுடர் நிலதிலச் சிவிகை மேற்கொண்டார். -1197
- தவஅரசாள உய்க்குந்தனிக்குடை நிழற்றச்சாரும், பவம்
அறுத்தாளவல்லார் பாதம் உள்ளத்துக்கொண்டு புவனங்
கள்வாழ்வந்தபூந்தராய் வேந்தர்போந்து, சிவன்மந்துறை
யும் நல்லூரத்திருப்பெரு மணத்தைச் சேர்ந்தார். -1206
- பெருமணக் கோயிலுள்ளார் மங்கலம் பெருகுமாற்றால்
வருவணத்திந்தின் முன்னர் வழிஎதிர் கொள்ளச் சென்று
திருமணம் புணரஎய்தும் சிர புரச் செம்மவாதாம்
இருள்மணந்தில நுகுகண்டத் திறைவர் தங்கோயில்புக்கார் -1207
- நாதரைப் பணிந்துபோற்றி நற்பொருட் பதிகம்பாடிக்
காதல்மெய்யருள்முன் பெற்றுக் கவுணியர் தலைவர்போந்து
வேதியர் "வதுவைக்கோலம் புனைந்திட வேண்டும்" எண்ணப்
பூதநாயகர் தங்கோயில் புறத்தொரு மடத்திற்புக்கார் -1208
- பொற்குடம் நிறைந்தவாசப் புனிதமஞ்சன நீராட்டி
விற்பொலி வெண்பட்டாடை மேதக விளக்கஞ்சாத்தி
நற்றிரு உத்தரிய நறுந்துகில்சாத்தி நானப்
பற்பல கலைவச் சாந்தம் பான்மையின் அணிந்தபின்னார். -1209
- திருவடிமலர் மேற் பூத்த செழுநகைச் சோதி என்றன
மருவியதரளக் கோவை மணிச்சரி அணையச் சாத்தி
விரிசுடர்ப் பாட்டின் மீது விளங்குபொற் சரட்டிற்கோத்த
பெருகொளி முத்தின்தாமம் பிறங்கிய தொங்கன் சாத்தி. -1210
- தணிகுடர்ப்பரிய முத்துத்தமனிய நாணிற்கோத்த
கண்கவர் கோவைப்பத்திக் கதிர்க்கடி சூத்திரத்தை
வெண்சுடரத்தாள மாலை விரிசுடர்க் கொக்கின்மீது
வண்திருஅரையின் நீடுவனப்பொளி வளரச்சாத்தி. -1211
- இவ்வகை நம்மையாளும் ஏர்வளர் தெய்வக்கோலம்
கைவினை மறையோர் செய்யக்கடிக்கொள் செங்கமலத்தாதின்
செவ்விநீன் தாமமார்பர் திருவடையாள மாலை
எவ்வுலகோரும் எத்தத் தொழுதுதாம் எடுத்துப் பூண்டார். -1216
- எழுத்தன சங்கநாதம்; இயம்பின இயங்கள் எங்கும்;
பொழிந்தன விசும்பில் விண்ணோர் கற்பகப் புதுப்பூமாரி;
தொழுந்தகை முனிவர் தொண்டர் சுருதியின் வாழ்த்துப்பொங்கி
வழிந்தன திசைகள் மீது; மலர்ந்தன உலகம் எல்லாம். -1218
- மண்ணினுக்கிடுக்கண்தீர் வந்தவர் திருநாமங்கள்
எண்ணில் பலவும் எத்திச் சின்னங்கள் எழுந்தபோதவ்
அண்ணலார் வதுவைசெய்ய அலங்கரித்தணையைப்பெற்ற
புண்ணிய மறையோர் மாடமங்கலம் பொழிந்து பொங்க. -1221
- முற்றுமெய்ஞ்ஞானம் பெற்ற மூர்த்தியார் செங்கைபற்ற
நற்பெருந்தவத்தின் நீர்மை நலம்படைத்தெழுந்த தெய்வக்
கற்பகப் பூங்கொம்பன்னார் தம்மையுங் காப்புச்சேர் சேர்த்துப்
பொற்புறு சடங்குமுன்னர்ப் பரிவுடன் செய்தவேலை. -1222
- செம்பொன் செய்வாசிச் சூட்டுத்திருமணிப் புனைபூண் செல்வப்
பைம்பொன்னின் மாலைவேய்ந் பவளமென் கொடியொப்பாரை
நம்பன்தன் அருளே வாழ்த்தி நல்லெழில் விளங்கச்சூட்டி
அம்பொன்செய்தீபம் என்ன அழகலங்கரித்து வைத்தார் -1223

- பொன்னணிசங்கின் வெள்ளம் பொலிவுடன் முழங்கிஆர்ப்ப
மன்னிய தரளப்பத்தி வளர்மணிச் சிவகைநின்றும்
பன்மலர் நறும்பொற்கண்ணம் பரந்த பாவாடைமீது
முன்னிழிந்தருளி வந்தார் மூவுலகுய்ய வந்தார் -1225
- மறைக்குல மனையின் வாழ்க்கை மங்கல மகளிரெல்லாம்
நிரைத்தநீர்ப் பொற்குடங்கள் நிரை மணிவிளக்குத் தூபம்
நறைக்குல மலர்க்குழமாலை நறுஞ்சுடர், முளைப்பொற்பாண்டில்
உறைப்பொலி கலவை ஏய்ந்தி உடனெதிர் ஏற்றுநின்றார். -1227
- எதிர்வர வேற்றசாயம் இளமயிலனைய மாதர்
மதுமங்கலமுன்னான வாழ்த்தொலி எடுப்பவந்து
கதிரிமணிக்கரக வாசக்கமழ்புனல் ஒழுக்கிக்காதல்
விதிமுறை வலங்கொண்டெய்தி மேவுநல்வினைகள் செய்தார் -1229
- மங்கலம் பொலிய ஏந்தி மாதரார் முன்பு செல்லக்
கங்கையின் கொழுந்து செம்பொன் இமவரை கலந்ததென்ன
அங்கவர் செம்பொன் மாடத்தாதிபூமியினுட் புக்கார்
எங்களை வாழ முன்னாள் ஏடுவை கையினுள் இட்டார். -1230
- அகில் நறுந்தூபம் விம்ம அணிகிளர் மணியால் வேய்ந்த
துகில்புனை விதானநிழல் தூமலர்த்தவிசின் மீது
நகிலிணி முத்தமாலை நகைமுக மடவார் வாழ்த்த
இகலில் சீர் மறையோர்குடி இனிதின் அங்கிருந்த வேலை. -1231
- திருமகட் கொடுக்கப்பெற்ற செழுமறை முனிவர்மதாமும்
அருமையான முன்செய் மெய்ம்மை அருந்தவ மனைவியாரும்
பெருமகிழ்ச்சியினாற் பாதம் விளக்குவார் பிள்ளை யார்முன்
உரிமையால் வெண்பால் தூநிர் உடன் எடுத்தேந்திவந்தார் -1232
- வந்து முன்னெய்தித் தாமுன் செய்ய மாதவத்தின் நன்மை
நந்து நம்பாண்டார் நம்பி ஞானபோனகர் பொற்பாதம்
கந்தவார் குழலினார் பொற்கரகநீர் எடுத்து வார்ப்பப்
புந்தியால் நினைதியானம் 'புரிசடையான்' என்றுன்னி -1233
- விருப்பினால் விளக்கிமிக்க புனிதநீர் தலைமேற்கொண்டு
பொருப்புறு மாடத்துள்ளும் புத்துளுத் தெளித்த பின்னர்
உருப்பொலி உதரந்துள்ளும் பூரித்தார்: உவகைப்பொங்கி
அருப்புறு கிளைஞர் மேலும் தெளித்தனர் ஆர்வத்தோடும் -1234
- பெருகொளி ஞானம்உண்ட பிள்ளையார் மலர்க்கைதன்னில்
மருவுமங்கலநீர் வாசக் கரகமுன் னேந்தி வார்ப்பார்
தருமுறைக் கோத்திரத்தின் தங்குலஞ் செப்பி "என்றேன்
அருநிதிப்பாவை யாரைப் பிள்ளையார்களித்தேன்" என்றார் -1235
- நற்றவக் கன்னி யார்கை ஞானசம்பந்தர் செங்கை
பற்றுதர் குரிய பண்பிற் பழுதி நல்நற்பொழுது நண்ணப்
பெற்றவ ருடன் பிறந்தார் பெருமணப் பிணையன்னாரைச்
சுற்றமுன் குழந்து போற்றக் கொண்டுமுன் துன்னினார்கள். -1236
- ஏகமாஞ் சிவமெஞ் ஞானம் இசைந்தவர் வலப்பால்எய்தி
காகமார் மணப்பே ரல்குல் நற்றவக் கொழுந்தன்னாரை
மகாமார் சோதிமில்ல மன்னி விற்புருந்த வெள்ளை
மேகமோ டிசையும் மின்னுக்கொடியென விளங்கவைத்தார். -1237
- புனிதமெய்க் கோல நீடு புகலியார் வேந்தர் தம்மைக்
குனிசிலைப்புருவ மென்பூங் கொம்பனாரு டனே கூட
களிமிகக் கண்டபோதின் நல்லமங்கலங்கள் கூறி
மனீதருந் தேவரானார் கண்ணிமையாது வாழ்த்தி. -1238

பத்தியிற்குயிற்றும் பைம்பொற் பவளக்காற் பந்தர் நாப்பன்
சித்தர் விதானத்தின்கீழ்ச் செழுந்திரு நீல நகர்
முத்தமிழ் வுரகர் முன்பு முதன்மறை முறையினேடு
மெய்த்தநம் பெருமான் பாதம் மேவும் உள்ளத்தாற் செய்ய

-1239

மறையொலி பொங்கி யோங்க மங்கல வாழ்த்து மல்க
நிறைவளைச் செங்கை பற்ற நேரிழையவர்முன் அந்தப்
பொறையணி முந்நூல் புகரில் வெண் பொரிகை அடகு
இறைவரை ஏத்தும் வேலை எரிவலங் கொள்ள வேண்டி.

-1240

அருப்புமென்முலையினார்தம் அணிமலர்க் கைப்பிடித்தங்(கு)
ஒருப்படும் உடைய பிள்ளையார் திரு உள்ளத்தன்னில்
"விறுப்புற்றும் அங்கி யாவார் விடை உயர்த் தவரே" என்று
திருப்பெருமணத்தை மேவுஞ் சிந்தையில் தெலிந்துசெல்வார்.

-1241

மந்தரமுறையால் உயர்த்த எரிவலமாக மாதர்
தந்திருக்கையைப் பற்றுந் தாமரைச் செங்கையாளர்
"இந்தஇல் லொழுக்கம் வந்து சூழ்ந்ததே இவளை தன்னோடும்
அந்தமில் சிவன்தான் சேர்வன்" என்றும் ஆதரவும் பொங்க.

-1242

மலர்பெருங்கிளையும் தொண்டம் கூட்டமும் மல்கிச்சூழ
அலகில்மெய்ஞ்ஞான தொல்லை அடைவுறுங் குறிப்பால் அங்கன்
உலகின் எம்மருங்கும் நீங்க உடன் அணைத்தருள வேண்டிக்
குலமணம் புரிவித்தார் தங்கோயிலை நோக்கி வந்தார்.

-1243

24. Sundarar Devaram: Thirukkadavur: 5

கொத்தார் கொன்றை மதிசூடிக் கோள்நா கங்கள் பூணாக
மத்த யானை உரிபோர்த்து மருப்பும் ஆமைத் தாலியார்
பத்தி செய்து பாரிடங்கள் பாடி ஆடப் பலிகொள்ளும்
பித்தர் கடலூர் மயானத்துப் பெரிய பெருமானடிகளே.
சுந்தரர் தேவாரம்- திருக்கடலூர், மயானம்.

25. Thiruthondar Puranam: 11-9

யாதென்றும் இல்லையாகி இருபகல் உணவுமாறிப்
போதுனும் மைந்தரோடும் பெருகு சுற்றத்தை நோக்கி
காதல் செய் மனைவியார் தங்கணவனார் கலயனார்க்கைக்
கோதில்மங்கலநூல் தாலி கொடுத்து நெற்கொள்ளுமென்றார்.

26. Thiruthondar Puranam: 705:

பாண்டிமாதேவியார் தமதுபொற்பில்
பயிலுநெடு மங்கலநான் பாதுகாத்தும்.
ஆண்டகையார் குலச்சிறையார் அன்பினாலும்
அரசன் பால் அபராத முறுதலாலும்.
மீண்டு சிவநெறியடையும் விதியினாலும்
வெண்ணீறு வெப்பலகப் புகலி வேந்தர்,
தீண்டியிடப் பேறுடையன் ஆதலாலும்
தீப்பிணியைப் பையவே செல்க என்றார்.

27. Thiruthondar Puranam: 21-34:

தம்பியார் உளராக வேண்டும் என வைத்ததயா
உம்பருல கணையவுறுநிலை விலக்க உயிர்தாங்கி
அம் பொன் மணிநூல் தாங்காது அனைத்துயிர்க்கும் அருள்தாங்கி
இம்பர்மனைத் தவம்புரிந்து திலகவதியார் இருந்தார்.

28. Kamdaranayanam: Sundarakandam: 48:

நின் கழுத்தின் நாண் உன்மகற்குக் காப்பின் நாணாங் என்றான்
மங்கையர் மங்கலத்தாலி மற்றையோர்
அங்கையின்வாங்கினர் எவருமன்றியே
கொங்கையின் வீழ்ந்தன குறித்த ஊற்றினால்
இங்கிதன் அற்புதம் இன்னும் கேட்டியால்

29. Nambi Thiruvilaiyadal: 6
மங்கலநாணிழந்த மடந்தை.
30. Thiruvilaiyadal Puranam: 5-185:
சுற்றுநான் மறைகளார்ப்பத் தூரியஞ் சங்கமெங்கக்
கற்றநான் முகத்தோன்வேளிவிச் சடங்குநூல் கரைந்துவாற்றால்
முற்றமங்கல நாண்சாத்தி முழுதுல கீன்றான் செங்கை
பற்றினன் பற்றிலார்க் கேடையருள் பரமயோகி.
31. Thiruvilaiyadal Puranam: 12-54:
பொதியவிழ் கடப்பந்தண்டார்ப் புயத்தினங் காளையன்னான்
முதியவர் செந்தீயோம்ப வின்னிய முழங்கக்காந்தி
மதியை மங்கலநாண் பூட்டிவரிவளைச் செங்கை பற்றி
விதிவழி யேனைமன்றல் வினையெலா நிரம்பச் செய்தான்.
32. Thiruvilaiyadal Puranam: 64-38:
உரியவன் தீமுன்னாக வுன்னை வேட்டதற்கு வேறு
கரியுள தாதிற்கூறிக் காட்டெனக் கழறலோடும்
எரிசுட வாடிச்சாய்ந்த விணர்மலர் கொம்பிற்சாம்பித்
தெரியிழை நாணஞ்சாய்ப்ப நின்றிது செபுகின்றான்.
33. Khandar Alankaram: 21:
மரணப்ர மாத நமக்கில்லை யாமென்றும் வாய்த்ததுணை
கிரணக் கலாபியும் வேலுமுண் டேகின்கிணி முகுன
சரணப்ரதாப கசிதேவி மங்கல்ய தங்ந்துரசுடி
பரணக்கு பாகா நானாகரசர பாஸ்கரனே.
34. Khandar Alankaram: 77:
செல்வாங்கு கண்ணியர் வண்ணப்பயோ தாஞ்சோ எண்ணி
மால்வாங்கி யேங்கி மயங்கமால் வெற்றி மலையெனவே
கால்வாங்கி நிற்குங் களிற்றான் கிழத்தி கழத்திற்கட்டு
நூல்வாங்கிடான்று வேல்வாங்கி பூங்குழல் நோக்கு நெஞ்சே

QUOTATIONS INCLUDED IN THE TEXT.

35. *Thurston E. III. 218.*—A cotton thread, dyed with *turmeric* is tied round her neck by a married woman and if she herself a married, she puts on glass bangles. The hut is burnt down and the pots she used are broken to atoms.

36. *Thurston E. III. 77.*—When a wedding takes place the sister of the bridegroom goes to the house of the parents of the bride and presents them with twenty-one kali panam (coins) and a cloth, and at the same time ties some horse-hair round the bride's neck. She then brings her and her relatives to the house of the bridegroom, where a feast is prepared.

37. *Thurston E. V. 35.*—In one form of the marriage rites as carried out by the Maravans, the bridegroom's party proceed on an auspicious day which has been fixed before hand, to the home of the bride, taking with them five coconuts, five bunches of plantains, five pieces of turmeric, betel and flowers and the tali strung on a thread dyed with turmeric. At the auspicious hour, the bride is seated with in the house on a plank, facing east. The bridegroom's sister removes the string of black beads from her neck, and ties the tali thereon.

38. *Thurston E. I. 9.*—The marriage ceremonial, as carried out among the poorer Agamudiayan is very simple. The sister of the bridegroom proceeds to the home of the bride on an auspicious day, followed by a few females carrying a woman's cloth, a few jewels, flowers, etc. The bride is seated close to a wall, facing east. She is dressed up in the cloth which has been brought and seated on a plank. Betel leaves, arecanuts and flowers are presented to her by the bridegroom's sister and she puts them in her lap. A turmeric-dyed string or garland is then placed round the bride's neck by the bridegroom's sister, while the conch shell (musical instrument) is blown. On the same day the bride is conducted to the home of the bridegroom, and a feast is held.

39. *Thurston E. VII. 380.*—It is said that, among the Karaikal Vallalar a peculiar ceremony of lighting the light, is performed for girls in the seventh or ninth year or later, but before marriage. The ceremony consists of worshipping Ganesa and the Sun at the house of the girl's parents. Her maternal uncle gives her a necklace of gold beads and coral, and a new cloth. All the relations, who are invited to be present, make gifts to the girl. The women of this section wear this ornamental which is called Kodachimani (hooked jewel) even after marriage.

40. *Thurston E. V. 266.*—The sacred fire is lighted and homam fire performed by the Brahman purohit. An old man who has had a number of children and belongs to a temple other than that of a bride and bridegroom's sister, then tie the tali string round her neck. This string bears a large tali about seven inches long and four inches broad and seventeen to twenty-three gold ornaments, often of considerable value. For every day wear, the massive ornaments are replaced by a smaller set. Immediately after the tali is tied, the marriage contract is written.

41. *Thurston E. V. 4.*—In one form of the marriage rites, the ceremony extends over four days. The most important items on the first day are fixing the mehr (bride price) in the presence of the vakils (representatives) and the performance of the nikka rite by the Kazi. The nikka Kudbha is read, the bride standing with in the screen. During the reading of the Kudbha, a sister of the bridegroom ties a string of black beads round the bride's neck. All the women present set up a roar called kulavi idal. On the following day the couple sit among women and the bridegroom ties a golden tali on the bride's neck. On the 3rd or 4th day a ceremony called Papparakkolam or Brahman disguise is performed; the bride is dressed like a Brahman woman and holds a brass vessel in one hand, and a stick on the other. Approaching the bridegroom she strikes him gently and says "Did not I give you butter milk and curds? Pay me for them." The Bridegroom then places a few tamarind seeds in the brass vessel, but bride objects to this and demands money, accompanying the demand with strokes of the stick. The man places copper, silver and gold coins in the vessel and the bride retires in triumph to her chamber.

42. *Thurston E. VI. 451.*—Among the Jacobites (Syrian Christians) early marriage was the rule until comparatively, recently boys being married at ten or twelve years of age and girls at six or seven. Now the more usual age for marriage is sixteen in the case of boys and twelve in the case of girls. Wedding takes place on Sundays in the Parish Church. On the Thursday before the wedding day, the house is decorated with rice flour and on the Saturday the marriage pandal (booth) is built. The first ceremony takes place on Saturday night when the bride and bridegroom bathe, and latter is shaved. Next morning both bride and bridegroom attend the ordinary mass, the bridegroom being careful to enter the church before the bride. Before leaving his house the bridegroom is blessed by his guru to whom he gives a present (dakshina) of clothes and money. He is accompanied by a best man, usually his sister's husband, who brings the tali. After mass a tithe (pathuvaram) of the bride's dowry is paid to the church as the marriage fee, a further fee to the priest (kaikasturi), and fee called Kaimuttupanam for the bishop. The marriage service is then read and its conclusion the bridegroom ties the tali round the bride's neck with threads taken from her veil, making a special kind of knot, while the priest holds the tali in front. The priest and bridegroom then put a veil (mantravedi) over the bride's head. The tali should not be removed so long as the girl is married and should be buried with her.

43. *Thurston E. II. 138.*—Among the Kaikolan musicians of Coimbatore, at least one girl in every family should be set apart for the temple service, and she is instructed in music and dancing. At the tali tying ceremony she is decorated with jewels and made to stand upon of paddy (unhusked rice). A folded cloth is held before her by two Dasis who also stand on heaps of paddy. The girl catches hold of the cloth and her dancing master, who is seated behind her, grasping her legs, moves them up and down in time with the music which is played. In the evening she is taken, astride a pony to the temple where a new cloth for the idol, the tali, and other articles required for doing puja (worship) have been got ready. The girl is seated facing the idol and the officiating Brahman gives sandal and flowers to her and ties the tali, which has been lying at the

feet of the idol, round her neck. The tali consists of a golden disc and black beads. She continues to learn and dancing, and eventually goes through the form of a nuptial ceremony. The relations are invited on an auspicious day, and the maternal uncle or his representative ties a golden band on the girl's forehead and carrying her, places her on a plank before the assembled guests. A Brahman priest recites mantrams (prayers) and prepares the sacred fire (homam). For the actual nuptials a rich Brahman, if possible, and if not a Brahman of more lowly status is invited.

44. *Thurston E. IV. 290.*—The Matangis are a class of prostitutes who are held, a much respect in Mysore and Andra. The Matangi is an unmarried woman though she is not bound by a vow of celibacy. She is chosen after a most trying ordeal, unless she is happened to be descended from a previous Matangi, to represent the Goddess Matangi. During the village festivals the Matangi abuses and spits upon the people assembled there, the high class Reddis, the purse proud Komatis and even the sacred Brahman do not take this as an insult, because they think that her spittle removes the pollution. In the Canarese country the ceremony of the initiation in to matangihood is performed by a Vakkaliga priest. A veritable marriage booth is set up in the courtyard of the house with rice flour, turmeric and kunkuma muggu or patterns on the floor, five small pots of water and plantain stems in the corners. The woman who is about to become a Matangi should live on fruits and milk for five days previous of the ceremony. She is dressed in a white sari and seats herself on the muggu close to the central pot. A bamboo basket, containing a pot bearing the device of the two footprints of Ellamma, an earthen or wooden receptacle, an iron lamp and cane is placed on her head. These are the insignia of the Matangi. The Asadi (who is the male counterpart of the Matangi) sings songs about Ellamma, and the Vakkaliga priest throws rice over the novice's head, feet, knees and shoulders and two bottus (marriage badge) called respectively Ellamma's and Parasurama's bottu on her neck. The new and old Matangis bawl out Ekkalde Jogavva. The ceremony closes with the drinking of toddy by the Matangis and Asadis.

45. *Thurston E. II. 136-137.*—In the Kurnool district, the Basavi system is practiced by the Boyas, but differs from that in vogue in Bellary and Mysore. The object of making a Basavi, in these two localities, is to perpetuate the family when there is no male heir. If the only issue in a family is a female, the family becomes extinct if she marries, as by marriage she changes her sept. To prevent this, she is not married, but dedicated as a Basavi and continues to belong to her father's sept, to which also any male issue which is born to her belongs. In the Kurnool district the motive in making Basavi is different. The girl is not wedded to an idol, but on an auspicious day, is tied by means of a garland of flowers to the garuda kambham (lamp) of a Balija Dasari. She is released either by the man who is to receive her first favours, or by her maternal uncle. A simple feast is held, and a string of black beads tied round the girl's neck. She becomes a prostitute, and her children do not marry in to respectable Boya families.

45. *A. Thurston E. Vol. II. 137-138.*—Basavi women, Dr. E. Balfour writes, "are some times married to a female child ever to the service of the temple, she is taken and dedicated for life to some idol. A Khanjar, or dagger, is placed on the ground, and the girl who is to under go the ceremony puts a garland thereon. Her mother puts rice on the girl's forehead. The officiating priest then weds the girl to the dagger, just as if he was uniting her to a boy in marriage by reciting the marriage stanzas, a curtain being held between the girl and the dagger" Mr. Fawcett writes that "a tali, on which is depicted the namam of Vishnu fastened to a necklace of black beads, a tied round her neck. She is given by way of insignia a cane as a wand carried in the right hand and a gopalan or begging basket which is slung on the left arm. She is then branded with the emblems of the chank and chakra."

46. *Fawcett, F. 1901, Nayars of Malabar* 236.—We still after the manner of children confound words with things, so it is not surprising that the unfortunate commission arrive at the conclusion that the institution of marriage was and is entirely absent from the Marumakkatayam system. "The parties do not plight troth, and do not call God to witness their union." And so forth. But with this conclusion, suitable enough to the high-flown moralist or to the restless being who would regardlessly sweep away the long results of time and improve on the process of natural development, imposing fanciful arrangement of their own, the anthropologist cannot at all agree.

The Sambandham, a regularly formed and certainly on haphazard alliance between a man and a woman, having the full sanction of the community, is marriage in every sense of the word, if the tali-tying ceremony gave the girl free liberty. We might well suspect that the Sambandham followed a ceremony not a marriage ceremony. But such as by no means the case for should the woman who is unmarried, for whom Sambandham has not been arranged or whose husband the man with whom she had had Sambandham, is dead—there is no such thing as widowhood bear a child. She's disgraced, much as is the Brahman widow under the same circumstances.

47. *Thurston E. V.* 313—The tali kattu kalyanam is some what analogue to what Devadasi (dancing girl) of other countries (districts) undergoes before she begins her profession. Among royal families, and those of certain Edaprabhus, a Kshatriya and among the sect a Nedungadi is invited to the girl's house at an auspicious hour appointed for the purpose, goes away after receiving a certain fee for his trouble.

48. *Aiyappan A.* 1942 "*Meaning of the Tali Rite*"—Bulletin of the Rama Varma Research Institute, Tiruchur—Except the Nambudri Brahmins, the lowest castes and the aboriginal tribes, among all other Hindu Communities of the Malabar coast girls have to undergo, before attaining puberty, an elaborate rite in which (1) they are secluded for a short period of time as though they have menstruated, (2) after the period of seclusion they are invested with a small ornament known as the tali by an adult male who is a member of a superior caste, an unrelated member of the same caste, a cross cousin, an aunt or Brahman of a Goddess, according to the local custom or the economic means of the celebrants of the rite, (3) in most cases after the ritual of investing the girl with the tali she and the man have to spend some hours or days together and (4) there is in some localities a formal separation of ceremonial destruction of the created by the rite.

49. (1) *Gillin J.* 1948: 425.—Among one of the castes of the Nayars of the Malabar caste of India a man was married to a girl in a simple ceremony and thereafter never saw her again.

2. *Titiev M.* 1959, 259—"..... the custom of the Nayar of Southern India, among whom a woman lived only a few days with her husband after which she might openly dwell with a lover."

3. *Levi-strauss C.* 1956, 263.—Marriage was purely a symbolical ceremony which did not result in a permanent tie between a man and a woman. As a matter of fact married women were permitted to have as many lovers as they wished.

4. *Gluckman Max*, 1955. 68-69.—Nayar woman might have several lovers of their own caste or higher caste and each man might have several mistresses. There has been dispute over whether marriage existed here. But Kathleen Gough has made clear that there was social control of fatherhood. In the first place, all Nayar women were married before puberty to men of their own caste and divorced after 4 days so that their children had the right caste as a whole for 'father'. Pollution taboos were observed by all of a woman's children by whomsoever they were begotten, on the death of their mother's ritual husband since he ranked as their ritual father. Secondly, a woman was forbidden to have relations with men of inferior caste. Thirdly her brother exercised control over the men who visited her on their home; they could object to her taking a lover of whom they did not approve. And all of a woman's lovers had to make gifts to her at birth of a child and at certain festival. But women and men were constantly changing their lovers. The Nayars afford the extreme example of a matrilineal system with a very weak conjugal bond, but even among them the conjugal bond and fatherhood were socially instituted and ritualized.

5. *Fawcett* 1901, 233.—The variations of the Sambandham are the Pudamuri, Vastradanam, Uzhamporukkuka, Vidaramkayaruka, etc., which are local expressions hardly understood beyond the localities in which they are used, but there would be hardly a Malayali who would not readily understand what is meant by *Sambandham tudan guga* (to begin sambandham). The meaning of this phrase which means to 'marry' is understood throughout Keralam in the same way, and there can be no ambiguity or mistake about it.

6. *Gough and Schneider* 1961, 263.—It did, however, legitimise children, which seems to me the minimum necessary criterion applicable to all those unions which anthropologists, customarily label "marriage." As a new definition of marriage which will cover all the familiar types the Nayar case, and several other unusual cases which are commonly recognized as marriage, I have suggested the following:—"Marriage is a relationship between a woman and one or more other persons which provides that a child born to the woman under circumstances not prohibited by the rules of the relationship, shall be accorded full birth status rights in his society or social stratum".

50. *Notes and Queries in Anthropology* 1951- 110.—Marriage is a union between a man and woman that children born to the woman are the legitimate offspring of both parents.

51. *R.R. Marett* 1927.—Every kind of socially recognised union between people of opposite sex that enable them by their joint efforts to produce and rear a family must count as marriage for the scientific student of mankind.

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ILLUSTRATIONS



Fig 1. BADAGA GIRL WITH A NECKLACE OF KASUS



Fig 2. KALLAR WOMAN OF RAMANATHAPURAM WITH A TALI OF SEVERAL TWISTED STRANDS OF HORSE HAIR



Fig 1. MARAVAN WOMAN OF RAMANATHAPURAM
A TYPICAL TYPE OF FORKED TALI



Fig 2. MARAVA WOMAN TALIS



Fig 1. KOLLI MALAIYALI WOMEN WITH BOTTU TALIS

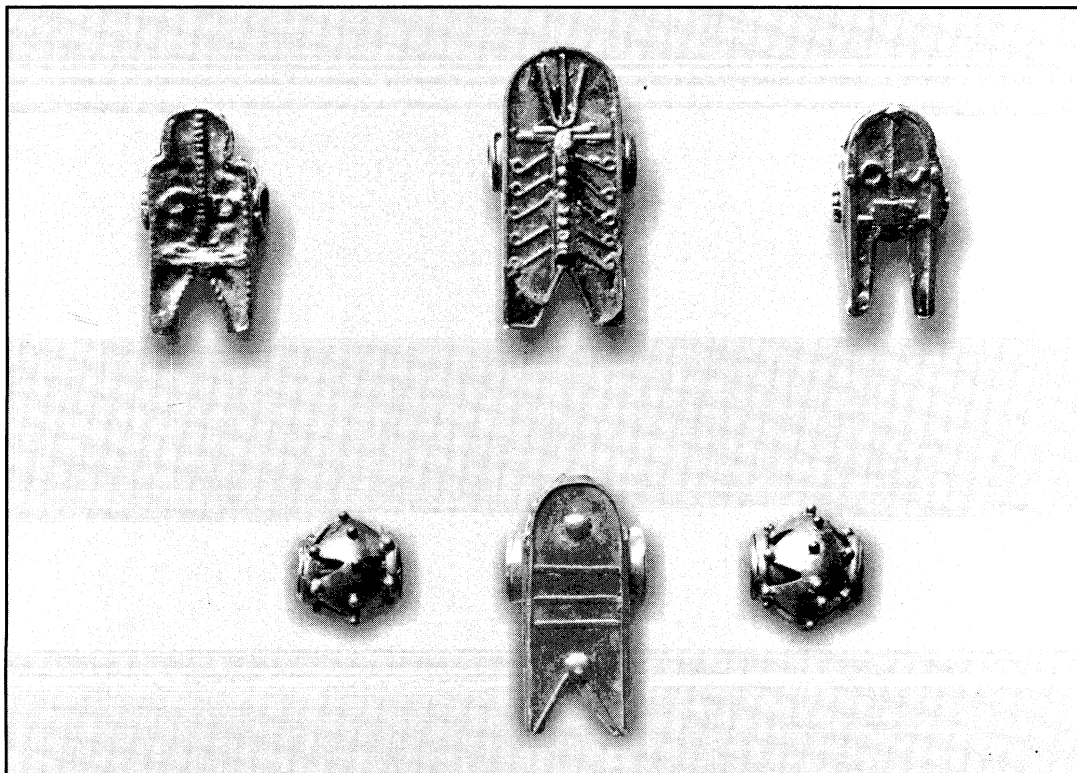


Fig 2. TALIS OF TAMIL TYPE, SYMBOLS REPRESENT SUN, MOON, VIBUTI, NAMAM, ETC.



Fig 1. PANTA REDDI WOMEN WITH TALIS



Fig 2. SCULPTURE BALAKRISHNA IN MADRAS GOVERNMENT MUSEUM, VIJAYANAGAR.

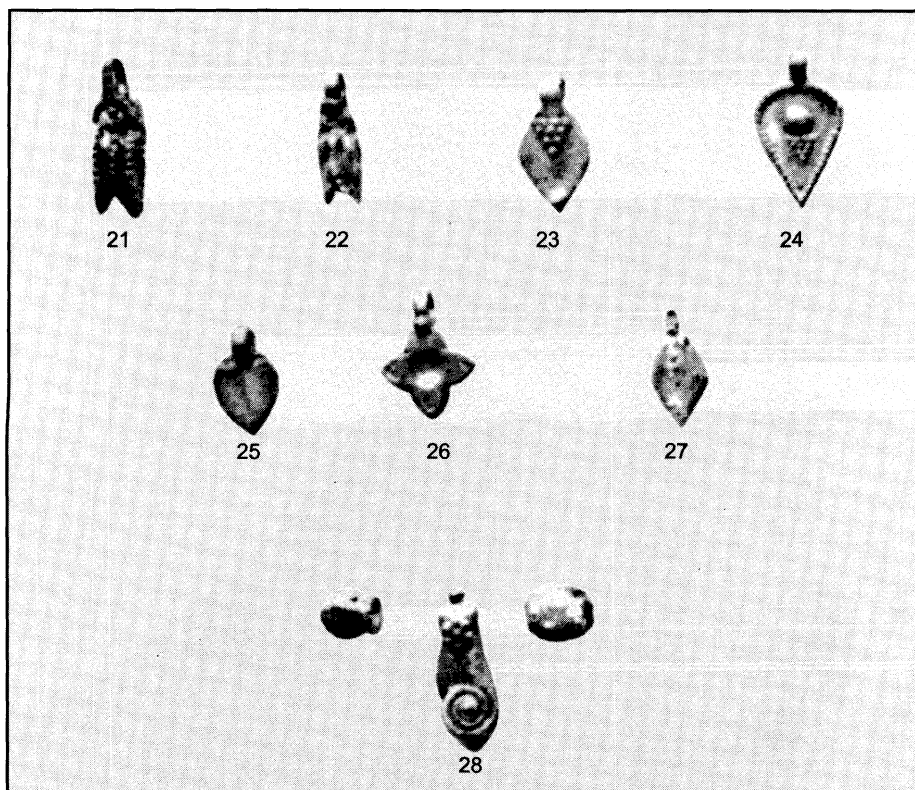


Fig 1. TALIS USED IN KERALA

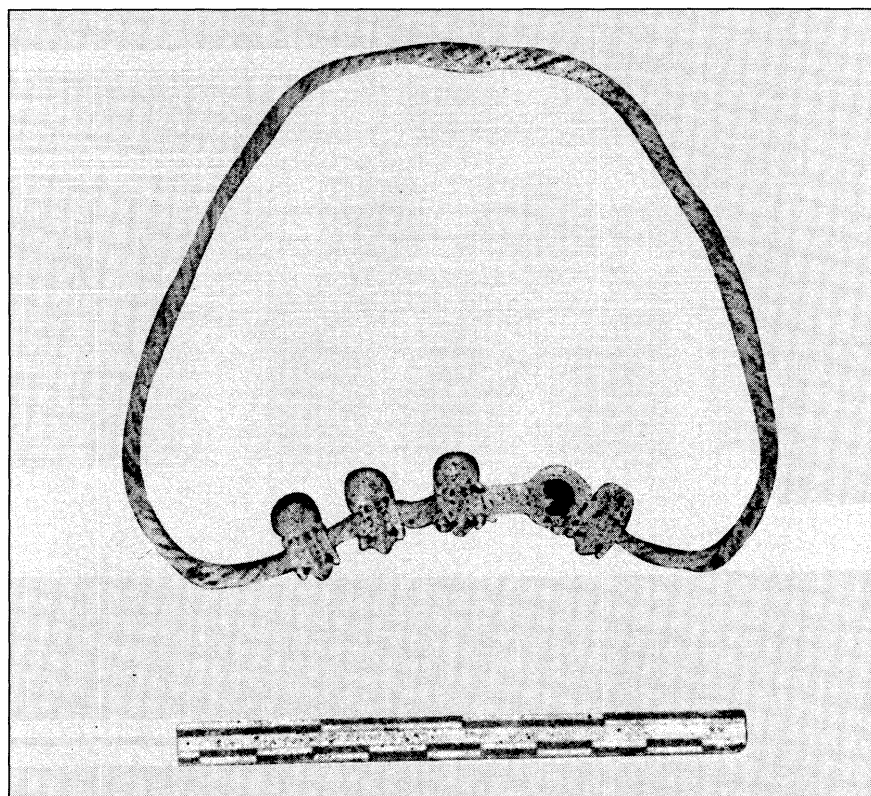


Fig 2. TREASURE TROVE TALIS FROM SOUTH ARCOT DISTRICT



Fig 1. TREASURE TROVE TALIS FROM EAST GODAVARI DISTRICT (THREE ROWS).
A TREASURE TROVE TALIS FROM TANJORE DISTRICT (LASTROW)



Fig 2. TALIS WITH VARIOUS DEITIES AND SYMBOLS REPRESENTED ON THEM

